

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

1907-1946

In Two Volumes

VOLUME ONE

STATEMENT CONCERNING PUBLICATIONS OF RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

Russell Sage Foundation was established in 1907 by Mrs. Russell Sage "for the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States of America." In carrying out its purpose the Foundation maintains a staff which, among other duties, conducts studies of social conditions, authorized by the General Director, where new information, its analysis and interpretation seem necessary in order to formulate and advance practicable measures aimed at improvement. From time to time the Foundation publishes the results of these studies in book or pamphlet form.

In formulating the problem for study, in mapping out a plan of work on it, in collecting facts, in drawing conclusions, and in the presentation of findings, authors of Foundation studies, who are always either members of the staff or specially commissioned research workers, have the benefit of the criticism and advice of their colleagues in the organization. Full freedom is given research workers for the final decision on all of these steps, and in presenting and interpreting both factual material and conclusions in their own way. While the general responsibility for management of the Foundation is vested in the Board of Trustees, the responsibility for facts, conclusions, and interpretations rests with the research workers alone and not upon the Foundation, its trustees, or other members of the staff. Publication under the imprint of the Foundation does not imply agreement by the organization or its members with opinions or interpretations of authors. It does imply that care has been taken that the research on which a book is based has been thoroughly done.



MARGARET OLIVIA SAGE
From a portrait by Cecilia Beaux

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

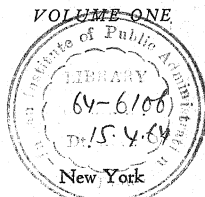
1907-1946

By

JOHN M. GLENN

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Eight Medallions Symbolizing the
Aims and Spirit of the Foundation

PREFACE

IT HAS seemed desirable to prepare a history of the first forty years of Russell Sage Foundation, both as a record of what it has done in its efforts to "improve social and living conditions" and because it has paralleled and contributed to the remarkable development and expansion of social work since its creation. How much it has aided in that development and how beneficial its contributions have been must be left to others to decide. The authors have tried to give as full, accurate, and clear a picture of the varied uses of the resources of the Foundation and its methods as was possible within reasonable limitations of space. We hope the result will be useful to students of the history and future growth of social work and to persons interested in the activities of foundations.

The History covers a period of a little more than forty years, from the months just preceding its incorporation on April 11, 1907, during which the purpose and plan of organization of the Foundation were under discussion, to September 30, 1946. The list of publications in Appendix C gives in summary form a record of the results of research done by the staff of the Foundation during this period. The list of grants in Appendix D indicates the extent to which contribution has been made to the financial support of other organizations.

The total expenditures of the Foundation for the forty-year period amount to nearly \$21,000,000, of which approximately \$9,000,000 was distributed in grants and \$12,000,000 for research and other direct work of the departments and for administration. These amounts represent the income from the original gift of \$10,000,000 made by Mrs. Sage in 1907 and her bequest of \$5,000,000 in 1918. The principal funds have been kept intact.

Miss Brandt is the author of the major portion of the History. She planned the arrangement of its contents and wrote the first

two parts, the fourth part, and the final chapter on grants: 1932-1946. Part III is based on a report prepared for the Foundation in 1920 and amended by Miss Brandt and me. Chapters XXXIII through XLIV were written by Mr. Andrews. My share in the work has been chiefly advisory and supervisory. I also made some additions to Chapter X, Southern Highlands, to Chapter XXXI, Regional Survey and Plan, as well as to the description of Forest Hills Gardens, of the Foundation's building, and at certain other points, because of my special knowledge of facts concerning the development of the projects discussed, which were not to be found in records.

We are indebted to Mr. Harrison, the general director of the Foundation, for much advice and suggestion, and to all the directors of departments for their cordial co-operation concerning the descriptions of their work and in other respects.

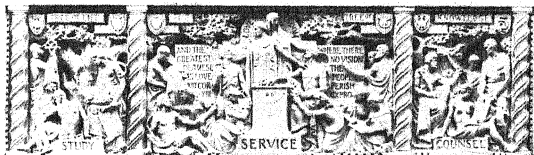
Unless otherwise noted all books and pamphlets cited in the text and footnotes were published by the Foundation.

JOHN M. GLENN

September 1, 1947

PART ONE
THE START

THE BAND ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE REPRODUCES THE PANEL
OVER THE ENTRANCE TO RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION BUILDING



I

GENESIS OF THE FOUNDATION

RUSSELL SAGE died on July 22, 1906. During a long life he acquired a large fortune. Except for a few minor bequests, he left his entire fortune, amounting to about \$65,000,000, to his wife, with no restrictions as to its use. Mrs. Sage immediately began giving away the millions that he had painstakingly accumulated. During the twelve remaining years of her life she gave about \$35,000,000, and by her will bequeathed over \$36,000,000, to charitable, religious, and educational institutions.

The Sage fortune was given away as painstakingly as it had been built up. Appeals from individuals and all kinds of institutions, and other suggestions for using the money, began to pour in on Mrs. Sage at once. Within six months she received 20,000 in writing, besides an uncounted number by word of mouth. Easy compliance would have dissipated her entire fortune in a few months. But while Mrs. Sage was generous and easily moved to compassion, she was also prudent and thrifty. She had known straitened circumstances before her marriage and had always lived simply by choice. Now that she had millions of dollars at her disposal she had no inclination to waste them even on charity. She wanted her gifts to count for as much as possible.

Mrs. Sage was nearly seventy-eight years old when her husband died. Photographs of the time show a strong, kindly, serene, intelligent face, a presence of dignity and graciousness. She had warm sympathies and a wide range of interests. Some-

times she acted quickly, impulsively, but her larger gifts were carefully considered. She sought advice, but she had vigorous opinions and made her own decisions. Pressure she resented. Even more she resented any suggestion that a donation might perpetuate her own name. A proposal of that sort was likely to end the applicant's chances.¹ Many of her endowments, on the other hand, bear the name of Russell Sage, for she intended them to be memorials to him.

Chief among the persons on whom Mrs. Sage depended for advice were her attorneys, Robert W. and Henry W. de Forest, both of whom were identified with philanthropic and civic enterprises. Robert W. de Forest had been president of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York since 1888. He was a board member of a number of important social agencies, and had been president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1903. Thus he had personal relations with many of the men and women of the country who were best informed about the circumstances of the poor and about what could be done to improve them. While he was considering how to advise his client, no doubt he used his opportunities in conversation to gather ideas informally. In October, 1906, he wrote in confidence to Daniel Coit Gilman, John M. Glenn, and Jeffrey R. Brackett,² saying:

It has fallen to me to advise Mrs. Russell Sage, and though she may not take my advice, and I am certainly not going to press it upon her,³ I wish to be prepared to advise her as

¹ See article by Mr. de Forest, "Margaret Olivia Sage, Philanthropist," in *The Survey*, November 9, 1918.

² Mr. Gilman was best known for his organization and development of the Johns Hopkins University, which put discovery and dissemination of new knowledge above mere instruction. He had had an unusual amount of experience, for that time, in foundations, as he had been one of the original trustees of the Slater Fund and was then its president, and had been a trustee of the Peabody Education Fund, and the first president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington for scientific research. He was also president of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore. Mr. Brackett and Mr. Glenn were identified with the public and private charities of Baltimore and they had a nationwide acquaintance with social work and social workers. (See also p. 21.) Mr. Brackett was the founder and director of the Boston School for Social Workers.

³ There were times when he was inclined to think that he and his brother might "help her more" if they were "more affirmative and less negative." He criticized himself a little, he wrote Henry on one occasion, "for not recommending some things more strongly. It is, however, the safe side."

to the best direction, either national or local, in which some amount, say from ten to fifteen millions, can be applied, which would do the most good and at the same time be some memorial of her husband. . . . The question . . . is practically: Assume \$50,000,000, of which \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000 is to be devoted distinctly to some one purpose, national or local, as a memorial; what would you do with it to accomplish the most good? . . . I have ideas myself . . . but I would rather have your independent suggestion without knowledge of what suggestions have been made by others.

Mr. Gilman spoke for an institution primarily "for encouraging inquiry and publication"—inquiry into the causes of ignorance, poverty, vice, and crime, and methods of dealing with them. It might also initiate agencies or make grants to existing agencies on prescribed conditions.

Mr. Brackett also recommended, among other uses for the money, a trust of which the income should be used "for paying, amply, persons of marked experience and ability for making studies (with time for real study, here and abroad) in the field of curative and preventive philanthropy, with the aim of adding to that body of knowledge which shall help to lessen human wants and ills." Mr. Glenn replied: "The first object of the fund should be investigation; the next education, chiefly by publication." He listed a comprehensive array of topics in need of investigation.

This consensus on the need for research and education must have accorded well with Mr. de Forest's own ideas. He shared the fresh enthusiasm of those early years of the twentieth century for hunting down the causes of poverty, disease, and crime, and discovering what could be done to eliminate or at least control those causes; the confidence that a large part of the "human wants and ills" in America was preventable, and therefore would be prevented if only the facts about conditions and remedies were generally known.

Nor did he merely share the new point of view. He had himself contributed consistently to its development. He had used his influence to initiate and foster the new educational movements

that were its organized expression,¹ and to enlarge the scope of Charities magazine as a medium for spreading information. At this very time, the closing months of 1906, the Charity Organization Society, reviewing its twenty-five years as a basis for deciding on future policy, had reached the conclusion that "the result to the community in eliminating and diminishing some of the more important causes of pauperism is of infinitely greater value than could have been brought about by the same amount of effort and the same amount of money expended for the relief of individual suffering." The Society therefore "deliberately determined, without neglecting in any way its duty in the relief of individual cases of poverty, to lay emphasis on the field of removing or minimizing the causes of poverty, and to firmly establish and extend these forms of work by organizing them into a department for the permanent improvement of social conditions."²

Under date of December 10, 1906, Mr. de Forest submitted to Mrs. Sage "suggestions for a possible Sage Foundation." It was, he said in his covering letter, "just such a memorandum as I am accustomed to have made up for me by those whose judgment I trust as preliminary to conclusions of my own. . . . My purpose here is not necessarily to urge you to do what I advise, but to put at your disposal my own knowledge and experience to aid you in determining what you wish to do. It has led me to think more closely and accurately on many of these subjects than I have ever been called upon to do before."

He knew, the memorandum began, that Mrs. Sage was not disposed to found any new college or university or agency for religious propaganda, because more could be accomplished by helping institutions already in existence. Her inclinations, he

¹ He had, for example, been chairman of the Tenement House Committee created by the Charity Organization Society in 1898 and of the State Commission of 1900 (brought about through the work of the Committee) which drafted and obtained the passage of the Tenement House Law of 1901; and was the first Tenement House Commissioner of New York City under that law. He was active in the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis of the Charity Organization Society, appointed in 1902, which was a pioneer in effective educational work in that field. In 1904 he was one of the founders of the National Child Labor Committee and the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

² Memorandum prepared by Mr. de Forest as president of the Society, quoted in its Twenty-fifth Annual Report, pp. 55-56.

understood, tended rather toward "social betterment—improvement of the hard conditions of our working classes, making their homes and surroundings more healthful and comfortable and their lives happier; giving more of opportunity to them and their children."

After referring to several recent foundations that illustrated a variety of principles, he discussed briefly ten objects in the general line of her thought, to any one of which a large sum might be devoted.¹ He questioned, however, "whether any foundation directed specifically to some single form of social betterment . . . is wise as a permanent memorial intended to do good from generation to generation." A foundation adapted to meet serious needs of today might find itself useless in another generation. On the other hand, "with the constant change and shift of social conditions, and extension, or it may be contraction, of the sphere of government activity, the future may develop other and greater needs for philanthropic action than any which are now apparent." If a philanthropic foundation were perpetually to carry out the benevolent intention of the donor it "should be sufficiently elastic in form and method to work in different ways at different times."

To insure this, he thought the basic plan of the General Education Board, the Carnegie Institution, and the Burke Foundation offered the best pattern: a large principal sum, always to remain intact, placed in the hands of a small body of self-perpetuating trustees, organized as a corporation, empowered to use the income in whatever way they think best from time to time to accomplish a specified general purpose. "Its ultimate good will depend almost entirely upon how it is administered."

¹ These were: (1) tenements in the city and small houses in the suburbs—for the working classes on a business basis, or for semi-dependent families on a semi-charitable basis; (2) lodging houses for women, comparable to Mills Hotels for men; (3) "neighborhood charity buildings" in New York City; (4) retail stores, to sell the necessities of life "to the poorer classes" at cost plus a reasonable profit of say 6 per cent; (5) industrial insurance for the working classes, at cost plus a reasonable profit of say 6 per cent; (6) tuberculosis sanatoria in the country, providing opportunities for the patients to earn something; (7) convalescent homes; (8) management, maintenance, and possibly establishment, of children's playgrounds in cities; (9) industrial education; (10) a great exhibition building in New York.

His tentative suggestion, accordingly, was for the establishment of the "Sage Foundation" for "Social Betterment," with an endowment of "say \$10,000,000," having as its object "the permanent improvement of social conditions." As means to that end he specified "research, study, teaching, publication, initiation of concerted effort, establishment of necessary agencies and institutions, aiding such effort already existing and such agencies or institutions already established."

It would be within the scope of such a foundation to investigate the causes of adverse social conditions, to suggest how these conditions might be remedied or ameliorated, and to put into operation means to that end. It might establish new agencies necessary to carry out its conclusions, or contribute to the resources of existing agencies. It should not undertake to do anything already being done or likely to be done effectively by other agencies.¹ It should take up "the larger and more difficult problems," and should do so as far as possible "in such a way as to secure co-operation and aid in their solution." It might initiate movements with the expectation that they would soon be self-supporting; or, in other instances, with the expectation of carrying them on itself. It should spend only its income, because otherwise permanence and continuous action could not be assured. It might, however, invest part of its capital funds, say one-half, in semi-philanthropic enterprises, provided such investments would yield a return of not less than 3 per cent.

Headquarters should be in New York, but the foundation should be national in scope, "at least as respects its powers." A majority of the Trustees should reside in New York or near enough to attend meetings conveniently. There should be a paid executive and paid assistants, and an office large enough to accommodate the working material, "which would mainly be in books, pamphlets, and within files." It could become for the nation such a "center of charitable and philanthropic information as the Charity Organization Society makes for the city."

¹ Mr. de Forest used to say of the Charity Organization Society that it lay within its province to do "anything that needed to be done that someone else could not do better."

Mrs. Sage, he said in conclusion, would be the natural head of the Board of Trustees. He was confident that she could gather around her a group of men and women who could contribute the wisest thought and the largest experience on these lines of action, and who would feel honored in being her advisers in such a cause. The plan he outlined sought to obtain "for all time that we can look forward to, in the surest possible way, the united judgment of the wisest men and women on such subjects, and to put them in a position to carry out whatever plans may seem to them from time to time to be wise to meet the different and varying social needs."

On the basis of Mr. de Forest's memorandum, Mrs. Sage in the following weeks reached decisions that resulted in the incorporation of Russell Sage Foundation and the terms of her letter of gift to the Trustees. They had to be selected before the bill for incorporation could be introduced. Since Mr. de Forest had not been well that winter, he was obliged to go south early in February, before Mrs. Sage had definitely decided as to the membership of the Board. By the end of the month, however, she had approved a list of seven in addition to Mr. de Forest and herself.

Three were personal friends of hers: Cleveland H. Dodge, an officer of the New York Chapter of the American National Red Cross, of the International Young Men's Christian Association, and of the American Museum of Natural History; Robert C. Ogden,¹ particularly identified with work for improving educational opportunities in the South, both for whites and for Negroes; and Miss Helen M. Gould (Mrs. Finley J. Shepard from 1913), known for her gifts to patriotic, religious, and charitable organizations, who for years had been like a daughter to Mrs. Sage. The others were chosen by Mr. de Forest: Gertrude S. (Mrs. William B.) Rice, his associate in the Charity Organization Society, of which she had been one of the founders, and also an officer of the State Charities Aid Association of New York; Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler, founder of the State Charities Aid Association and of the Bellevue Hospital training school for nurses, the first one in America; Daniel Coit Gilman; and John M. Glenn.

¹ See p. 17.

Before leaving New York Mr. de Forest had had an understanding with Mrs. Rice and Miss Schuyler. From Jekyl Island he wrote to Mr. Glenn and Mr. Gilman. His brother and Mrs. Sage had the responsibility of obtaining consent to serve from her personal friends.

On a Sunday morning (March 10) in Baltimore Mr. Glenn received Mr. de Forest's letter telling him of Mrs. Sage's decision within the past few days to establish a foundation, assuming his willingness to act as one of the trustees, inasmuch as it was organized "so much on the line" of his and Mr. Gilman's suggestions of the preceding October, and enclosing a similar letter addressed to Mr. Gilman. Mr. Glenn found that Mr. Gilman was "mightily pleased and needed no urging." For himself he replied: "I cannot possibly express my joy. . . . I thank God that this fund of Mrs. Sage's was brought to you as adviser."

Of the nine trustees, seven lived in New York, two in Baltimore. As between men and women the division was as nearly even as it could be in a total of nine.¹ In age they averaged about 61, ranging from 39 (Miss Gould) to 75 (Mr. Gilman) and 78 (Mrs. Sage). All were well-known figures in philanthropy or education or both. They represented a variety of interests and experience. Mr. Ogden as well as Mr. Gilman had been identified with foundations. "I would not have been willing to serve myself," Mr. de Forest wrote to an associate, "unless I was satisfied that the majority of the board was entirely sane and that it was so constituted as to work together."

Mrs. Sage's intention became known to the public when the bill applying for incorporation (drawn by Mr. de Forest) was introduced in the state legislature on March 13, 1907. It passed both houses quickly and was signed by Governor Hughes on April 11, becoming Chapter 140 of the Laws of 1907. This instrument, the charter of Russell Sage Foundation, was short and

¹ Miss Schuyler, writing (March 23, 1907) to congratulate Mr. de Forest on the "fine, broad lines" of the Foundation, added: "I like too the plan of having men and women working together on the same board. I have always worked so, all my life, and it works well."

simple. No amendment has yet been made to it. The text was as follows:¹

Section 1. Margaret Olivia Sage, Robert W. de Forest, Cleveland H. Dodge, Daniel C. Gilman, John M. Glenn, Helen Gould, Gertrude M. Rice, and Louisa L. Schuyler, together with such persons as they may associate with themselves, and their successors, are hereby constituted a body corporate by the name of Russell Sage Foundation, for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income thereof to the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States of America. It shall be within the purposes of said corporation to use any means to that end which from time to time shall seem expedient to its members or trustees, including research, publication, education, the establishment and maintenance of charitable or benevolent activities, agencies and institutions, and the aid of any such activities, agencies or institutions already established.

Section 2. The corporation hereby formed shall have power to take and hold, by bequest, devise, gift, purchase or lease, either absolutely or in trust, for any of its purposes, any property, real or personal, without limitation as to amount or value, except such limitation, if any, as the legislature shall hereafter impose, to convey such property and to invest and reinvest any principal and deal with and expend the income of the corporation in such manner as in the judgment of its trustees will best promote its objects. It shall have all the power and be subject to all the restrictions which now pertain by law to membership corporations so far as the same are applicable thereto and are not inconsistent with the provisions of this act. The persons named in the first section of this act or a majority of them shall hold a meeting and organize the corporation and adopt a constitution and by-laws not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this state. The constitution shall prescribe the qualifications of members, the number of members who shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at meetings of the corporation, the number of trustees by whom the business and affairs of the corporation shall be managed; the qualifications, powers, and the manner of selection of the trustees and officers of the corporation, and any other

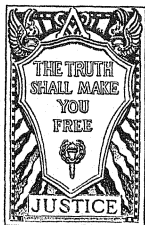
¹ Laws of the State of New York passed at the 130th Session of the Legislature vol. 1, p. 187.

provisions for the management and disposition of the property and regulation of the affairs of the corporation which may be deemed expedient.

Section 3. This act shall take effect immediately.

"Russell Sage Foundation" is the name that appears in the charter. Mr. de Forest had proposed "Sage Foundation." Replying to Miss Schuyler, who, while the bill was still before the legislature, had asked him if he could not induce Mrs. Sage "to allow herself to be united with her husband in the name of the Foundation," he assured her that everything he and his brother "properly could do to urge Mrs. Sage to have the Foundation simply named 'Sage' has been done."

Through this charter the object Mr. de Forest had in mind when he submitted his memorandum to Mrs. Sage was attained. It insured that there should always be—as long as there was a United States of America—an institution charged with improving social conditions in the country, a group of persons considering and reconsidering the means expedient to that end, and having at their disposal forever—or at any rate as long as capital yielded a return—the income of \$10,000,000 to use in promoting those means. The only restriction was geographical. The money must be used to better conditions in the United States.



*Architectural detail from the east façade,
Russell Sage Foundation Building*

II

RECEPTION AND FIRST STEPS

FOUNDATIONS were still a novelty in America. There were only eight in existence in 1907—only two with a capital fund equal to that of Russell Sage Foundation, and none was active in its field.¹ The announcement of its creation caused much more of a flurry than it would today. In the daily press it received a relatively large amount of space and enthusiastic editorial comment. Teachers of the social sciences felt encouraged. Social workers saw in it practically boundless resources for the kind of work they thought was most needed.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS

Newspaper writers² in New York and other cities immediately acclaimed the new Foundation for the breadth and boldness of its object, for the degree of discretion permitted the Trustees, and for the size of the endowment. It was "one of the most significant gifts in all modern philanthropy." It had "a field of activity that the most enthusiastic will not call cramped or small. . . . Centuries hence, if the Sage Foundation is still in existence, its managers will not be tied down to any outgrown subject of inquiry or relief." That it would not be an easy task to administer the great trust, that its value would depend largely on how it was administered, was expressed in various ways, but the Trustees who had been chosen could "be depended upon to take sane, as well as far-reaching views." They were warned that "if they really investigate and study the causes of poverty on the assumption that it is a removable curse they may prepare for anything

¹ Milbank Memorial Fund was established in 1905; its object is "to improve the physical, mental and moral condition of humanity, and generally to advance charitable and benevolent objects," but in its early years it was primarily a vehicle for the personal contributions of the founder, Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson.

² Excerpts from editorials and news articles were printed in *Charities and the Commons*, March 23 and March 30, 1907. Additional clippings, now crumbling and discolored, are preserved in the Library and office files of the Foundation.

but a serene time of it." If, however, they "attack the problem of poverty with open minds, in philosophic indifference to vested interests and social consequences to themselves, they will have plenty of interesting and valuable work to do."

In the announcement he prepared for the press when the bill was introduced, Mr. de Forest had taken pains, so he indicated in sending it to his brother, "to make it plain to the public" that Mrs. Sage was "doing something wise." Nevertheless the cordial reception by the public took him by surprise. He had expected criticism on the ground of vagueness of purpose. "So much discrimination, particularly in the public press," he wrote Seth Low, was something he had not anticipated. To Mrs. Sage he wrote, enclosing a collection of editorials: "It is extremely gratifying to me, and must be to you, to find them all speaking not only in commendatory terms but in terms of such intelligent commendation and with such appreciation of your motives and the possibility of great accomplishment along the chosen lines."

OPINIONS OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Ten days after announcement of the creation of the Foundation, Charities and the Commons¹ published a symposium of comments from leaders in social work, prefaced with a Foreword by the editor.²

¹ In its issue of March 23, 1907. Three additional contributions appeared later.

² Edward T. Devine, who was also general secretary of the Charity Organization Society and professor of social economy in Columbia University. The other contributors were: William H. Allen, general agent for New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor; Ernest P. Bicknell, general superintendent of Chicago Bureau of Charities; Amos W. Butler, secretary of Indiana Board of State Charities, president of National Conference of Charities and Correction 1907; Homer Folks, secretary of New York State Charities Aid Association; Lee K. Frankel, manager of United Hebrew Charities of the City of New York; Robert W. Heberd, commissioner of public charities of New York City; James F. Jackson, secretary of Associated Charities of Cleveland; Samuel McCune Lindsay, director of New York School of Philanthropy and secretary of National Child Labor Committee; W. Frank Persons, assistant secretary of Charity Organization Society of the City of New York; Mary E. Richmond, general secretary of Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity; Jacob A. Riis, member of Charities Publication Committee; Graham Taylor, warden of Chicago Commons and director of Chicago Institute of Social Science; Frank Tucker, vice-president of Provident Loan Society; Lawrence Veiller, director of Department for the Improvement of Social Conditions of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York.

RECEPTION AND FIRST STEPS

In their appraisal of the purpose and terms of the endowment this group was unqualifiedly enthusiastic. It was called "the wisest, sanest, and timeliest gift recorded in the history of philanthropy" (Lindsay); "in every way the most important event in the charitable world of our generation" (Richmond); a "wonderful opportunity . . . to bring the science of philanthropy on a level with other preventive sciences" (Frankel).

The Foreword expressed the warmest appreciation of the breadth and wisdom and spirit of the gift, the "thrilling" possibilities opened up by the annual income of nearly half a million dollars; and of the personnel of the board that had been chosen "to inaugurate and administer the trust, to establish its traditions and precedents, to determine, probably, at least for a generation, the general directions in which its streams of beneficence will flow." It also called attention to the favorable conditions that awaited just such an institution at just this time:

It is a fortunate moment in many respects for the appearance of this ally of preventive social movements. Much is to be done, it is true, and that of itself is reason enough for congratulation to those who are supplied with the resources adequate to its accomplishment. But it is also true that there has been preparation. There are many to help to do what is necessary. Never was the spirit of co-operation so strong. Never was there so large a number of trained and competent workers. They are not all now engaged in philanthropic activities. They are on the newspapers, in colleges, and in business. They have, however, been thinking about social conditions and in some instances acting to change them.

OPINIONS OF EDUCATORS

A few weeks later¹ Charities and the Commons published another symposium, *What University Men Think of the Russell Sage Foundation*.² The presidents expressed their satisfaction in

¹ May 11, 1907.

² It included statements from the following: Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University; Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy, University of Wisconsin; Charles A. Ellwood, professor of sociology, University of Missouri; Henry W. Farnam, professor of political economy, Yale University; Frank A. Fetter, professor of political economy and finance, Cornell University; Arthur Twining Hadley, president of Yale University; Charles Richmond Henderson, professor

general terms. The professors exulted in the impetus the new Foundation would give to acquiring "scientific knowledge of the conditions of right human living together and the diffusion of such knowledge among the masses of the people" (Ellwood); in what it would do toward "realizing the aspiration . . . that 'investigation funds' be regarded as no less essential to scientific activity in social study than laboratory apparatus is to chemistry, and clinical provision to medicine" (Hollander); in the body of information it would put at the disposal of both teachers and administrators of practical enterprises (Henderson).

To E.R.A. Seligman the value of the Foundation appeared to consist: (1) in its being an institution "ready to hand" in times of depression, which could "at once and without delay cope with sudden exigencies such as result from periodical oscillations in our economic prosperity"; and (2)—much more important—in the fact that it would be in position to experiment. "In natural science," he said, "a single step in advance is often the result of hundreds of failures. In practical social science, we have had such comparatively little advance because there has been no one willing to risk the failures. The Russell Sage Foundation can do much by its failures as a scientific laboratory of social experimentation."

Simon N. Patten, pre-eminent for his influence as a teacher, predicted that at the end of twenty years it might be found that the Foundation had exerted "as great an influence on universities as on the world of poverty." For lack of concrete dependable material, he said, social courses were "thin." Through collection, correlation, and publication of facts, the Foundation would be "an engine of power in modifying higher instruction and forcing it into useful channels." Its creation marked "an epoch in education as well as in philanthropy." "My joy in the Sage Founda-

of sociology, University of Chicago; Jacob H. Hollander, professor of political economy, Johns Hopkins University; Carl Kelsey, professor of sociology, University of Pennsylvania; Frank L. McVey, professor of economics, University of Minnesota; Herbert E. Mills, professor of economics and sociology, Vassar College; Simon N. Patten, professor of political economy, University of Pennsylvania; Edward Alsworth Ross, professor of sociology, University of Wisconsin; Henry R. Seager, professor of political economy, Columbia University; Edwin R. A. Seligman, McVickar professor of political economy, Columbia University.

tion," he said, "is thus a double one. I am glad that social work is to be made efficient and the poor are to be aided, but I am also glad that the tone of the universities can be elevated, their work made definite, and that their young men will go out with higher and clearer ideals."

One of the best-known teachers and writers of the period, Franklin H. Giddings, for some reason did not take part in this symposium. He was writing an article, however, that may be assumed to represent what he would have had to say.¹ "Bearing in mind the ingenuity of judicial reasoning, it would seem to be entirely possible that, so far as the law of the case is concerned, the income of the Sage Fund could one of these days be devoted to the propagation of either anarchism or socialism, free trade or protection, neo-Malthusianism or the patriarchal family." Experience did not warrant the expectation that great trust funds would ever be diverted to "any kind of moral or social radicalism," but there was danger "in the temptations that they offer to designing persons to control them in the interests of either speculative enterprises or of established privilege." Their influence, he said, was likely to be ultra-conservative.

ORGANIZATION

On April 19, 1907, the incorporators met in the home of Mrs. Sage, a "brownstone front" opposite St. Patrick's Cathedral, about on the spot where the great bronze Atlas now stands in Rockefeller Center. Mrs. Sage opened the meeting with a prayer "which brought tears to the eyes of all present" and presided "with characteristic dignity."² The motto she selected for the Foundation, which is inscribed on the corporation seal, was "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

All the incorporators named in the act were present except Miss Gould, who was in Europe. Mr. Ogden also was there; his name had not been included because illness had made it impos-

¹ "The Danger in Charitable Trusts," in Van Norden Magazine, June, 1907.

² "Margaret Olivia Sage, Philanthropist," in The Survey, November 9, 1918. The article was written by Mr. de Forest a few days after the death of Mrs. Sage.

sible to obtain his assent in advance. He was now "associated as a member of the corporation with the incorporators named in the act, with like effect as if he had been named as an incorporator in the bill." Similar action was taken with regard to Mrs. Rice, "to avoid any possible question" that might arise from a mistake in the printing of the act, in which her name appeared as Gertrude M. Rice.

After adopting a constitution and electing the incorporators as trustees, the meeting adjourned. Thereupon the same persons reconvened for the first meeting of the Board of Trustees. Mrs. Sage was elected president, Mr. de Forest vice-president. Mr. Gilman, Miss Gould, and Mrs. Rice were chosen to serve with them as the Executive Committee.

Mrs. Sage then read her letter of gift,¹ bearing the date of the meeting. In this letter she announced the transfer to the Foundation of securities and cash, of which a schedule was appended, aggregating in value \$10,000,000. She also expressed "certain desires" to which she "would wish the Trustees of the Foundation to conform so far as they may from time to time deem expedient." No doubt the letter was drafted by her attorneys, but no doubt also the "desires" were her own, whether they were original or adopted.

While the scope of the Foundation was intended to be national, she said, it was her wish that at no time should less than one-quarter of the income be applied exclusively to the benefit of the city of New York and its vicinity. She also wished that at no time should less than one-quarter be applied "generally to the United States at large or to the parts of it outside of the city of New York and its vicinity." That left one-half unrestricted, permitting the use of three-fourths either for New York and vicinity or for other parts of the country or general purposes affecting all parts.

She incorporated almost verbatim several of the principles that had been recommended by Mr. de Forest in his memorandum of December 10, 1906: that the Foundation should take up "the larger and more difficult problems"; that it should not undertake work already being done or likely to be effectively done by

¹ See Appendix A.

others, but might wisely initiate movements not so provided for. She had had "some hesitation" about permitting investment of part of the principal in enterprises for social betterment, realizing that it might result in diminution of income, but had decided to authorize such investments to the extent of not more than one-quarter¹ of the endowment at any one time, provided they were likely, in the opinion of the Trustees, to yield not less than 3 per cent per annum.

Of the \$10,000,000 nearly four-fifths was in railroad bonds, one-fifth in mortgages on Manhattan real estate, a small amount in certificates of contribution to the Provident Loan Society of New York (an "investment for social betterment"), and a small amount in cash, to round out the ten million. The annual return on these securities at the time was \$458,080, an average of approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

In authorizing the Trustees to invest and reinvest the principal of the fund, Mrs. Sage specified five kinds of securities as permissible: any of the kinds included in her gift; mortgage bonds of railroads or other corporations "which have continuously paid dividends on their common stock at the rate of not less than 4 per cent per annum, for a period of not less than five years preceding the investment"; the preferred stocks of any such companies; any stocks of companies guaranteed by any such companies; and any securities in which savings banks or trustees may, at the time of the investment, be authorized to invest.

After the Trustees had accepted the gift and the responsibilities it placed upon them, and had attended to several matters of formal business, Mr. de Forest called attention to some of the questions requiring immediate consideration. It was agreed that each trustee would send him within ten days his own ideas as to the plan and scope of the Foundation; that these suggestions, together with others they had received, should be printed for their private use; and that a special meeting should be held as soon as possible, to consider "all questions of plan and scope, as well as action in the near future."

¹ Mr. de Forest had suggested one-half (see p. 8). See also p. 54, footnote 1.

Without waiting for the adoption of general principles, they made several appropriations at this very first meeting. The Jamestown Exposition, to be held in the coming summer, seemed to offer an exceptional opportunity for educational exhibits, and there was no time to lose if they were to be ready. Appropriations accordingly were authorized for exhibits of children's school gardens, of children's playgrounds, of facts about tuberculosis, and, if satisfactory arrangements could be made, of safety appliances.¹

"I am nearly eighty years old," said Mrs. Sage at the close of the meeting, "and I feel as if I were just beginning to live."² Her associates were hardly less affected. Although they had had long experience in large enterprises for the social welfare, this new venture opened before them a vista of unimagined possibilities. "Exhilarated," "excited," "stunned," were words they used in letters to Mr. de Forest. "I had not dreamed," wrote Mrs. Rice, "that anything so vital and interesting . . . could come into my life." She felt "humble-minded." Others, too, expressed a sense of responsibility amounting to consecration. Mr. de Forest himself wrote his brother from Jekyl Island that although he had not ignored the amount of work and responsibility the Foundation would mean for him, still he found himself "somewhat appalled" as the time drew nearer and the likelihood of realization increased. "Very enthusiastic about the possibilities, and at the same time sober with regard to the responsibilities," he expressed himself to another correspondent.

APPOINTMENT OF DIRECTOR

The special meeting to consider plan and scope and other matters of immediate urgency was held on May 10. On the most urgent and most important question—the choice of a director—the Executive Committee was ready. When John M. Glenn was named as a trustee it had not been supposed that he would consider leaving Baltimore, where both he and Mrs. Glenn had deep

¹ Arrangements could not be made for this exhibit. In its place an appropriation was authorized on May 10 for one by the National Child Labor Committee.

² Reported by Mr. de Forest in *The Survey* article cited above.

roots and many responsibilities that could not lightly be dropped. The Committee had found, however, that he was willing to accept the position in New York on the understanding that it should be considered on both sides (as between themselves) experimental for a year. Mr. Glenn accordingly resigned as trustee and was appointed director.¹ He was also appointed secretary of the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Glenn was a member of the bar and had practiced law in Baltimore, but for some years had devoted most of his time to public service, chiefly in connection with the public and private charities of his own city and state. He had been president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1901. When Russell Sage Foundation was established he was president of the Board of Supervisors of City Charities of Baltimore, chairman of the executive committee of the Baltimore Charity Organization Society, president of St. Paul's Guild House, and lecturer at the Johns Hopkins University.

Among social workers in New York pleasure over the appointment was heightened by the fact that it would bring to the city Mrs. Glenn also, who as a member of boards and committees, and by her mere presence, would strengthen the private social work of the community. The Charity Organization Society, in particular, looked forward to the help and inspiration she would bring to its counsels.

SUGGESTIONS FOR PROGRAM

Before this meeting the Trustees had received Confidential Bulletin No. 1,² containing charter, constitution, and letter of gift; Mr. de Forest's memorandum of December 10, 1906; suggestions received from Trustees to the date of going to press; letters received by each of them from persons whose advice they had solicited; the symposiums printed in *Charities* and the *Commons*; and a selection from comments that had appeared in leading newspapers.

¹ The original constitution provided that the director should not be a member of the Board of Trustees. Mr. Glenn's place on the Board was kept vacant in case he should find it impossible to continue as director.

² A book of 171 pages printed privately for their use. It was never published.

Of the letters to the Trustees, ten were from persons represented in the published symposiums, supplementing and elaborating what they had written for publication and making specific suggestions. The others were from persons equally prominent in the fields of social work or education.¹ Altogether the Trustees now had before them in black and white the views of more than 40 persons whose judgment they valued.

In these views there was general agreement, variously expressed, that the main work of the Foundation should be discovery and diffusion of knowledge, including the training of persons to apply such knowledge and disseminate it further, and the building up of an informed public opinion. The possibility of utilizing Charities and the Commons and its press service was the concrete suggestion most frequently made. "Substantial support" of the existing schools for social workers was advocated, and provision for "Social Institutes" and series of lectures in a number of cities. There was some sentiment in favor of supporting "object lessons," and of helping new enterprises of a promising character to get a start—not only for their intrinsic value but in order to enlist promptly the sympathy of press and public, to whom a program consisting entirely of investigation and education might not appeal. One professor thought what was most needed was "some thoroughly competent person to bring together and unite the results of widely scattered efforts" in research. "The most urgent need," said another, "is to lay a broad foundation of exact statistical knowledge of the dependent and defective classes in America, and to develop into a system the official information now so incompletely gathered on these subjects."

Specific topics for investigation and particular work considered suitable for aid ranged over the composite field of interest of the writers. Each person naturally put forward for consideration the matters in which his own organization was involved and the

¹ H. Mark Baldwin, professor of psychology, Johns Hopkins University; Jeffrey R. Brackett (see p. 4); John Graham Brooks, writer; Irving Fisher, professor of political economy, Yale University; E. C. Moore, superintendent of city schools, Los Angeles; Zilpha D. Smith, associate director Boston School for Social Workers, formerly for many years general secretary of the Associated Charities of Boston; William F. Slocum, president of Colorado College; Frederick Howard Wines, criminologist.

problems he had most at heart, as far as they came within the scope of the Foundation. Putting them all together resulted in a fairly full catalogue of the current interests of practical social workers and the needs felt by teachers of the social sciences.

What is most striking about these proposals is their amplitude. So comprehensive were some of the investigations outlined that if the annual income instead of the principal had been \$10,000,000 it would have been far from enough. Although most of the writers knew something about the cost of research and education, they seemed unfettered by that consideration. And indeed, as compared with the resources of even the large social agencies of the period, \$450,000 a year may well have seemed practically unlimited.

Such omnibus topics for study as the extent and causes of poverty were mentioned frequently. A minor detail in one proposal was establishment of "a few model schools of preventive medicine." One of the comprehensive programs, very advanced in its scientific point of view, was directed toward "the understanding and treatment of personality (as *mind and body*) in its social relationships." It would require "a large well-manned plant, with laboratories for anthropology and psychology, including arrangements for tests and measurements of the senses and physical characters, arrangements for study of special cases, and for statistical computations, records, etc."—as well as a teaching staff of experts in a large number of fields, with suitable accommodations and libraries. Another proposal was determination of the "planes or condition-making factors in the life of the masses of the city population, how they arise, how they shape the fate and character of those submitted to them, and how they may be lifted." At the end of one of the most ambitious programs the writer admits that it "seems very extensive," but "with proper direction," and with the resources available, he had no doubt "that all the reforms indicated . . . can be successfully carried out within a reasonable time."

Among the more finite subjects recommended for study were methods of public outdoor relief throughout the United States, analysis of case records of charity organization societies, history

of philanthropy, expenditures for social welfare in a given city in a year,¹ the problems of intermittent employment, the effect of different kinds of philanthropic activity on the size and quality of the population, the extent and causes of family desertion, the efficiency of existing institutions and methods for dealing with various problems and reasons for unsatisfactory results, systems of industrial insurance, social conditions in rural communities, immigrant groups, the Negro population in New York City (then comparatively small), the optimum diet for man under different conditions, the cost of a tolerable standard of living, "a comprehensive study of the life and labor of the people of New York City comparable with Charles Booth's study of London."

Recommendations for "practical work" included promotion of uniformity in accounting and reporting by agencies of similar function, public and private; leadership in the welfare work of the public schools of the country; assistance in putting the American National Red Cross on a firm and permanent basis; formulation of an ideal system of public and private relief, with proper division of responsibility; erection of neighborhood buildings; establishment of retail stores to sell food and other necessities of life to the poor at cost; a campaign for the reduction of vagrancy; promotion of improved methods in the administration of public charitable institutions; strengthening and extension of existing work for housing reform, for prevention of tuberculosis and venereal disease and child labor, for establishment of children's courts and probation, and many other young movements.

A number of limitations or cautions or safeguards were recommended. Aid to established agencies should be given with great circumspection, in order not to "dry up" other sources of support.² It should be given only to organizations with the highest standards and to them only for new undertakings, with the proviso that their work be "distinctly preventive." A policy of making grants over a period of years ("say five"), diminishing in amount each year and ceasing altogether at the end of the period,

¹ This was cited merely as an illustration of the "indispensable preliminary" investigation "before we can confidently say how the income of the fund can best be used."

² "We do not wish any of the Sage money to relieve *the rich!*" said Mrs. Rice.

was strongly urged by two of the writers.¹ Another² said firmly: "Gifts to other organizations should be minimized and discouraged.—During the first year at least, the Trustees should absolutely shut their ears to requests for gifts to various existing organizations."

As to research, a caution against "vague and limitless" tasks was expressed. It was urged that studies of particular agencies or particular methods should be made by persons experienced in the work under scrutiny and competent to understand the needs of the individuals affected. One man (a superintendent of schools) proposed that, instead of organizing a special corps of investigators, persons doing good social work should be persuaded to add research to their functions. To his mind the most important problem was "how to make the investigations function in improving conditions." He suggested publication in a variety of forms, the establishment of professorships or lectureships, and the organization of a national Academy of Social Service, composed of the hundred or so most effective social workers in the country, as a working body, to do for the whole field what the National Child Labor Committee was doing for a single problem. "I am impatient to get results from the facts already at hand," he said, "and to get further facts, that we may get more results."

¹ They were officers of an organization that received grants for one or more purposes every year through 1943.

² His work received two grants the first year, and thereafter generous support annually until he retired in 1940.

III

POLICIES, PROCEDURES, PROGRAM

THANKS to the preliminary thought that had been given to the work of the Foundation by its vice-president and other trustees, their knowledge of the field and their associations; thanks also to the existence of agencies that already had some experience in research and propaganda, and perhaps to finding a director without any delay, Russell Sage Foundation got away to a fast start.

LIMITATION OF SCOPE

One of the questions of policy that demanded immediate consideration, said Mr. de Forest to the Trustees at their first meeting, was the "further limitations of scope which the Trustees must impose on themselves to prevent scattering effort and dissipating resources." A considerable number of applications for grants had already been received. They began to come in when the papers announced the introduction of a bill for incorporating the Foundation. Obviously it was desirable to decide at once on certain general limitations, within the broad purpose defined by the charter, and make them known as widely as possible.

At the meeting on May 10, 1907, three clearly defined categories were declared "not within the scope of the Foundation." It would "not attempt to relieve individual or family need." If it did, there would be no money left for its peculiar function of eradicating causes of poverty. Relief, moreover, was not one of the "larger and more difficult problems," but a common duty that should be recognized by all. In the second place, it would give no aid to universities and colleges, since the field of higher education was "sufficiently cared for by other large agencies," but this did not apply to "elementary education of the kind that directly affects social and living conditions." The third category was "aid to churches for church purposes."

ACTION ON SUNDRY PROPOSALS

A third meeting of the Trustees was held on May 27, before summer should scatter them, at which progress was made in several directions. Mr. Gilman's fourfold program for publications was adopted: "contributions¹ to existing journals," "financial aid to the journal known as Charities," "occasional tracts for general distribution," and "a series of brief memoirs prepared . . . by competent persons and published in uniform style." To set in motion the one part of the program that could be started at once, an appropriation of \$20,000 was made to Charities Publication Committee² toward the support of Charities magazine for the year beginning May 1, 1907, "in the expectation of increasing its circulation and educational influence and in return for its acting as press bureau and performing . . . other services in the line of publication" for the Foundation.

Several other grants were made at this meeting, or were discussed and referred to the Executive Committee with power. First among them were three in aid of the young but already tested movement for the prevention of tuberculosis: \$10,000 to the pioneering committee of the Charity Organization Society, which had been doing effective work in New York City since 1902; \$5,000 to the State Charities Aid Association, to enable it to launch an educational campaign on similar lines in "upstate" New York; \$5,000 to the International Tuberculosis Congress, which was to meet in America for the first time the following year and for the first time was to have a section devoted to social and economic aspects of the disease. The director was asked to look into the needs of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. Another grant of \$5,000 was made to the State Charities Aid Association "for the study and promotion of proper care of infants and young children."

¹ Contributions of manuscript, presumably, not money.

² A standing committee of the Charity Organization Society of New York, but representing various parts of the country; appointed in May, 1905, to emphasize the increasingly national scope of the magazine and with a view to expanding its activities. Mr. de Forest was chairman of this committee; Mr. Gilman and Mr. Glenn were members.

In the way of research the director was authorized to spend \$5,000 for the preparation of a report on relief in San Francisco following the great fire of the preceding year; and an appropriation of \$7,000 was made to Charities Publication Committee "to complete" its investigation of social conditions in Pittsburgh, with the proviso that the report should be issued as a publication of the Foundation "if so desired by the Trustees." For the guidance of the Trustees in deciding what investigations the Foundation should undertake, the director was asked to collect information about the studies under way in New York, and in his discretion to extend the inquiry to other parts of the country.

Action on several proposals for aid to particular institutions was deferred for more information or because they involved general questions not yet decided. The Executive Committee was authorized to make additional appropriations not exceeding \$50,000 in the aggregate for matters that might require decision before the next meeting of the Trustees. Acting on this authority, the Committee, at a brief session immediately following the Trustees' meeting, voted \$10,000 to the Charity Organization Society "for the educational work of its Department for the Improvement of Social Conditions and its tenement-house work," and an amount not to exceed \$2,500¹ for an investigation of the standard of living as proposed by the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction.

It was Mr. de Forest's judgment, in which the director and the Board of Trustees concurred, that it was advisable at this stage to "go slow" on commitments. At the outset he thought grants should be made only "where the purpose is clearly desirable and where the institution or persons . . . are so thoroughly known to the Trustees that there can be no doubt about their efficiency and effectiveness." On other applications they would be in a better position to act wisely when they had a larger number before them and there had been more time to consider their merits.

¹ In the draft of the minutes that went to Mrs. Rice this amount read \$25,000. Although she recognized that it was a typographical error the mere idea of such an amount for a single study was "positively terrifying."

PROGRESS DURING THE SUMMER

It was a busy summer for the director. Not only were there the questions that had been referred to him for his judgment and to report on, but new requests and new ideas were constantly coming in. Each proposal was examined on its own merits, with reference both to its probable potency in improving social and living conditions, and to the probable effectiveness of its sponsor as an instrument for carrying it out. It was comparatively simple to recognize requests in the categories that had been declared outside the scope of the Foundation, but as to others it was necessary to decide between the good and the better, the better and the best.

The methods employed that summer became established procedure. They were simplicity itself to state. No staff of investigators was employed. No application blank was prepared. No imposing array of documents was collected.¹ The director himself found out all he could about each proposal that fell within the scope of the Foundation—chiefly by talking with the proposers and persons whose advice he valued and examining work already done by the agency; discussed it with the vice-president and any members of the Board of Trustees especially interested who were within reach; made up his own mind about it; and prepared a concise statement of pertinent facts for the Executive Committee, with his recommendation and the reasons therefor. Occasionally he merely submitted an objective summary without any recommendation. Occasionally, but seldom, the Executive Committee or the Trustees departed somewhat from his recommendations in the amount granted or the conditions imposed. In their general point of view for the Foundation the Trustees were exceptionally harmonious. On most questions brought before them in these early years, several of them were likely to have personal knowledge. Every proposal was subjected to the judicial scrutiny of the director, and the Trustees had his information and his judgment as a basis for every decision. In most cases action was unanimous.

¹ Though as time went on the accumulation of correspondence and reports built up bulky *dossiers* for a number of agencies.

At the first meeting of the Trustees in the fall (October 28) additional appropriations made by the Executive Committee during the summer or now recommended for action were approved, aggregating over \$150,000. Among them were supplementary amounts of \$5,000 for the anti-tuberculosis campaign of the State Charities Aid Association and \$15,000 for the Pittsburgh Survey. As recorded by Paul U. Kellogg, director of the Survey and editor of the six volumes constituting its report, preliminary investigations in Pittsburgh had convinced all concerned that "it would be ignoring a wonderful opportunity for constructive research to limit the work to the quick journalistic diagnoses originally planned."¹ The tuberculosis movement was further strengthened by grants to the National Association for a second traveling exhibit, a publicity bureau, and compilation of data for a national directory.² The New York Association for the Blind, which was conducting an "object lesson" in training blind men and women for remunerative employment, was given an amount sufficient to provide suitable accommodations for work-rooms and offices for three years.

To each of the four schools for the training of social workers—New York, Boston, Chicago, and St. Louis—an appropriation was made "for investigations to be made for the Foundation subject to the discretion of the director." This action had several objects in view. It would give the Foundation experience in the conduct of research quickly and economically, and would demonstrate to what extent it could rely on the schools to carry on studies it might wish to have made. It would provide an opportunity to compare the work and the needs of the four schools and would enable them to give training in research. The investigations would be useful in themselves.

An investigation of the work of women and children in the canneries of the state of New York had been undertaken in the summer at the instance of the Consumers League of New York City, supported by Mrs. Florence Kelley. It was directed by

¹ The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage. Survey Associates, New York, 1914, vol. 5, p. 498.

² Published in September, 1908, the first book issued by the Foundation.

Miss Pauline Goldmark, under the general supervision, for the Foundation, of Lawrence Veiller. By October it was almost completed. Legislation proposed the preceding winter had been postponed for lack of sufficient knowledge about conditions. The moment for the investigation was particularly opportune, as co-operation of the leading canneries was assured, but without the aid of the Foundation it could not have been made.

Other investigations provided for were studies of child labor in the mills and factories of southern states; of systems of workingmen's insurance; of homeless men in Chicago and Minneapolis; of backward children in the public schools of New York City. To the Washington Homes Commission, appointed by the President to investigate housing and overcrowding in the District of Columbia, a grant was made on condition that an equal amount be raised from other sources. A proposal for a study of congestion of population was referred to the Executive Committee with authority to decide on plans and to appropriate for the purpose \$25,000. To provide for the technical advice that would be needed on the studies and on the reports when submitted for publication, a modest appropriation was approved for "supervision and correction of investigations and statistics."

Appropriations to start on their way two new "propagandist" movements—"charity organization extension" and "national playground extension"—completed the list for the summer.

In the thirty years since the first American charity organization society was founded in Buffalo in 1877, societies professing similar aims and principles had been established in many cities. There were 180 in 1907. This growth was the result largely of the enthusiasm of pioneers in the movement and their personal influence. Since 1880 the National Conference of Charities and Correction had had a committee on charity organization, but except for this committee there was no organized effort until 1905 to increase the number of societies or to standardize and improve the work of those in existence.

In the summer of 1905 the secretaries of a few of the societies decided that it would be useful to exchange forms and other material regularly. They asked Miss Mary E. Richmond of

Philadelphia to arrange for the central machinery—with Charities and the Commons if possible. The editors of the magazine agreed to conduct the exchange at cost. They also established a Field Department, with Miss Richmond as editor, for the publication of pamphlets that would be useful in an extension movement. A few months later a Correspondence Branch was opened by the Field Department, and was put in charge of Francis H. McLean, superintendent of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities. Within a year requests for advice about establishing new societies or reviving or developing old ones were received from 45 cities.

At a meeting in connection with the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Minneapolis in June, 1907, leaders in the charity organization field discussed plans for taking advantage of the manifest interest. The natural conclusion was that the Field Department should expand and become an active agency for the extension of charity organization work. Russell Sage Foundation was ready to supply the money. Without its help progress would have continued to be slow, dependent on what could be done by persons with primary obligations elsewhere. Its officers were convinced that a strong subsoil of organized charity was essential to healthy growth of the newer preventive movements, as well as the "natural foundation" for "more specialized charitable effort."¹ Mr. McLean began work as full-time secretary of the Field Department on October 1. Charities Publication Committee appointed a committee to have general direction of the work. Miss Richmond was chairman; Mr. de Forest and Mr. Glenn were members.

Recreation as an object of social concern was newer than charity organization. At this time interest was still in an early stage, and was directed chiefly toward providing supervised playgrounds for children in the larger cities. In the twenty years after the first one was opened in Boston in 1886, 40 or 50 cities had made a start, and in the spring of 1906, just a year before Russell Sage Foundation began work, the Playground Association of America had been organized to further the movement. It

¹ As Mr. de Forest had said in his presidential address at the National Conference in 1903.

was to this association that the Foundation at its first meeting had made an appropriation to meet the expense of installing and conducting a model playground at the Jamestown Exposition.

The Association had meager financial resources. Its secretary was supervisor of playgrounds in the District of Columbia, and his official duties claimed most of his time. Its president was Luther Halsey Gulick, M.D., director of physical training in the public schools of New York. In June, 1907, it held its first annual convention in Chicago.

This meeting, later known as the First Play Congress, was a new kind of conference in the experience of social workers. From the opening session through the final day—which was devoted to a festival of play and sport in one of the parks—it was the very incarnation of the spirit of play. Mr. de Forest had asked Lawrence Veiller to attend. He and other New Yorkers came home full of new enthusiasm for the movement and greatly impressed with the qualities of the Association's president as a leader. So were Mr. de Forest and Mr. Glenn when they talked with him. They were also persuaded that the state of public interest throughout the country was favorable for an active propagandist campaign, and that the favorable moment might pass if action had to wait for accumulation of the necessary funds through small contributions.

Within a month the Executive Committee of the Foundation appropriated \$20,000 for "national playground extension" and asked Dr. Gulick to take charge of the work, as chairman of a "committee," Mr. de Forest and Mr. Glenn being the other members. It was deemed advisable to carry this on as an activity of the Foundation, but to work through the Association in such a way as to strengthen it and put it on its feet.

FIRST SIX MONTHS REVIEWED

Reviewing the work of the Foundation's first six months, the Executive Committee on October 28, 1907, reported to the Trustees what had been accomplished under three heads: (1) "in the line of action," beginning with the "educational object lessons" at the Jamestown Exposition, and including the help to

four propagandist movements and to the demonstration of the New York Association for the Blind, and also the Pittsburgh Survey (which was expected to be not merely research but "an object lesson not only to the city of Pittsburgh itself but to American industrial cities of which it is a type"); (2) "in the line of research," in which the emphasis "is and will be to obtain facts which shall be the basis of appropriate action for the improvement of social and living conditions"; and (3) "on the side of publication," including the establishment of a press bureau in connection with Charities magazine and the prospects of "ample material" for publication of both scientific and popular character from the various investigations in progress.

The Committee did not think it expedient "at the present time" to take up such large subjects for research as industrial education and outdoor relief. It was giving attention to possible lines of "philanthropic investment." Among the possibilities under consideration were an institution to make loans on salaries, organized and conducted on the same principles as the Provident Loan Society, and construction of cheap suburban homes for New York wage-earners.

Through these early months the Foundation was "feeling its way" toward policies and a concrete program. In considering one case after another, different arrangements for supervision seemed advisable, different kinds of relationship to the Foundation. Expenditures to strengthen movements that, though they might be young, already had a good start, already had developed principles and methods and a recognized leadership, could be entrusted without anxiety to organizations operating in the field. In the case of enterprises in the initial stage it was deemed essential that the Foundation should be in intimate relations with the directing body. With the plans for "national playground extension" the Foundation made its first venture in direct administration. Dr. Gulick, though called "chairman" of a "committee," was in effect a member of the staff,¹ and the other members of the committee were the vice-president and the director of the Foundation.

¹ Soon after he began work, Dr. Gulick was put in charge also of the "backward children investigation," which was his suggestion.

One principle was fundamental from the outset. Trustees and director were determined that the funds should be used to the best possible advantage. They must be applied only to purposes promising good returns in the way of improved social conditions, and to such purposes only if they could not be financed from other sources. They must be placed only in hands that could be trusted to administer them wisely and prudently. Amounts appropriated must not encourage lavish expenditure but they must be adequate. They look small today, but at the time they seemed ample. There should not be commitments, at any rate at first, for continuous expenditure for a given object.

Whether help to a going activity or the initiation of a new activity was under consideration, these questions were always asked: Is this an auspicious moment? Are conditions particularly favorable just now for expansion or initiation, as the case might be? Is there danger that the opportune moment may be lost if we do not take advantage of it now? By the answers to such questions, if there was no doubt about the intrinsic value of the proposed undertaking and the dependability of those who would carry it out, decisions were largely determined.

As to the general character of the Foundation's work, the director expressed the consensus of the Trustees when he said: "This Foundation must stand for truth and fairness. It must be thorough, impartial, and judicial, as well as aggressive." This could be realized, he added, "only by finding and using persons who are properly trained and equipped."

In making some of the appropriations, the Trustees put specific responsibilities on the Executive Committee or the director. A general responsibility for oversight of all expenditures rested on the director by virtue of his position. At the October meeting a rule was adopted that the amounts appropriated "be maximum appropriations in each instance, and that the director or the Executive Committee be authorized from time to time to diminish the amounts."

It was stipulated further "that knowledge of these appropriations be strictly confidential to members of the Board, except as promulgated by the director." There were several reasons for

keeping appropriations quiet. Publicity would attract an unmanageable number of applications. It might stir up jealousies. It might endanger other support for some projects. As to "credit" the Foundation was indifferent. It was interested only in results. Its attitude was described by Mr. de Forest as follows:¹

The Foundation is quite ready to be known as playing a leading part if thereby the drama can be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and it is equally satisfied to take a humble role, and even entirely efface itself, if thereby a successful climax can be reached.

So it happened that anonymous contributions of \$5,000 or \$10,000 began to appear in annual reports of agencies that had rarely reported anonymous gifts of more than \$10 or \$25 or \$100. In most instances the source was an open secret. A few years later (October, 1911) in response to a question by the general director, the Trustees agreed that, "subject in each case to the approval of the general director, any grantee should be permitted to publish the name of the Foundation as a contributor in a printed report, provided the report states that the grant was made to promote educational work." In reports for publication of the Foundation,² it was agreed, there should be brief mention of the work done through grants, "except in a few special cases where it might be detrimental" to the work or its financial prospects.

The Executive Committee had reason for its modest claim that in the first six months there had been "some measure of accomplishment." An administrative office and a financial system had been organized. Between 150 and 200 applications for grants had been considered. Something like \$250,000 had been allocated for investigations, object lessons, and propagandist movements that would promote the objects of the Foundation. Certain broad policies had been adopted. Certain principles had been formulated; others were accepted as basic without formulation. Pro-

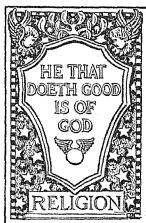
¹ "The Initial Activities of the Russell Sage Foundation," in *The Survey*, April 3, 1909.

² A report for the period ending September 30, 1910, was in preparation at that time, but it did not reach publication.

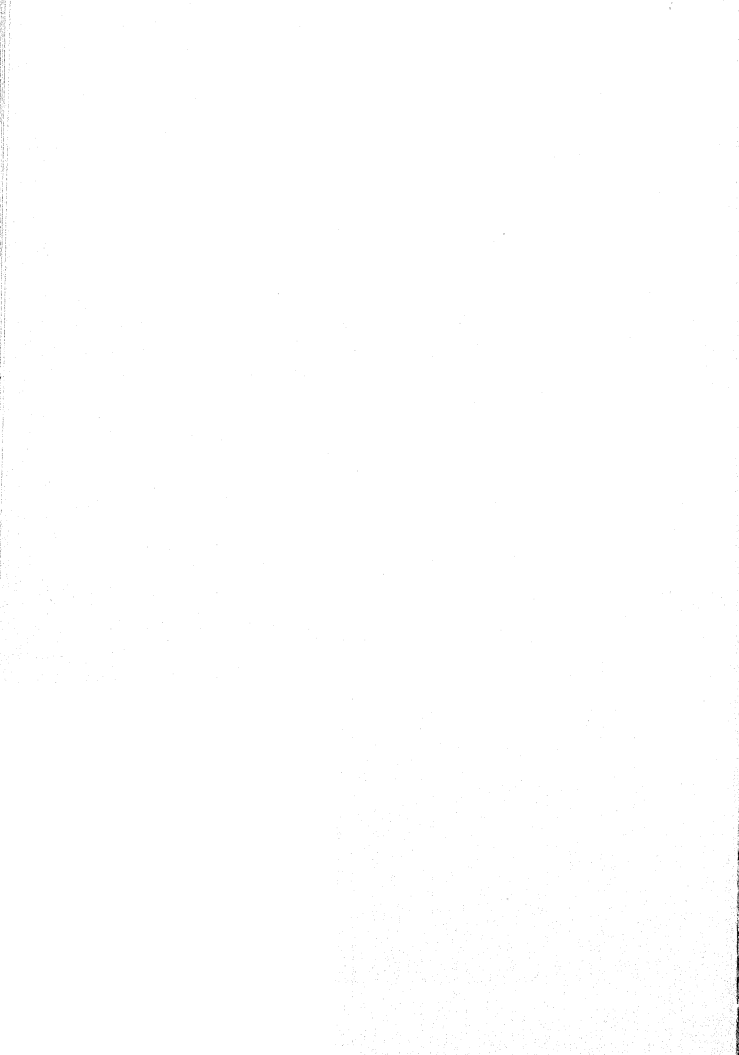
POLICIES, PROCEDURES, PROGRAM

cedures were taking shape. A double-track program was emerging—"indirect" work, done for the Foundation by other agencies, and "direct" work, carried on by its own staff. Several plans were under consideration for investment of part of the principal, as authorized, in income-producing agencies for social betterment.

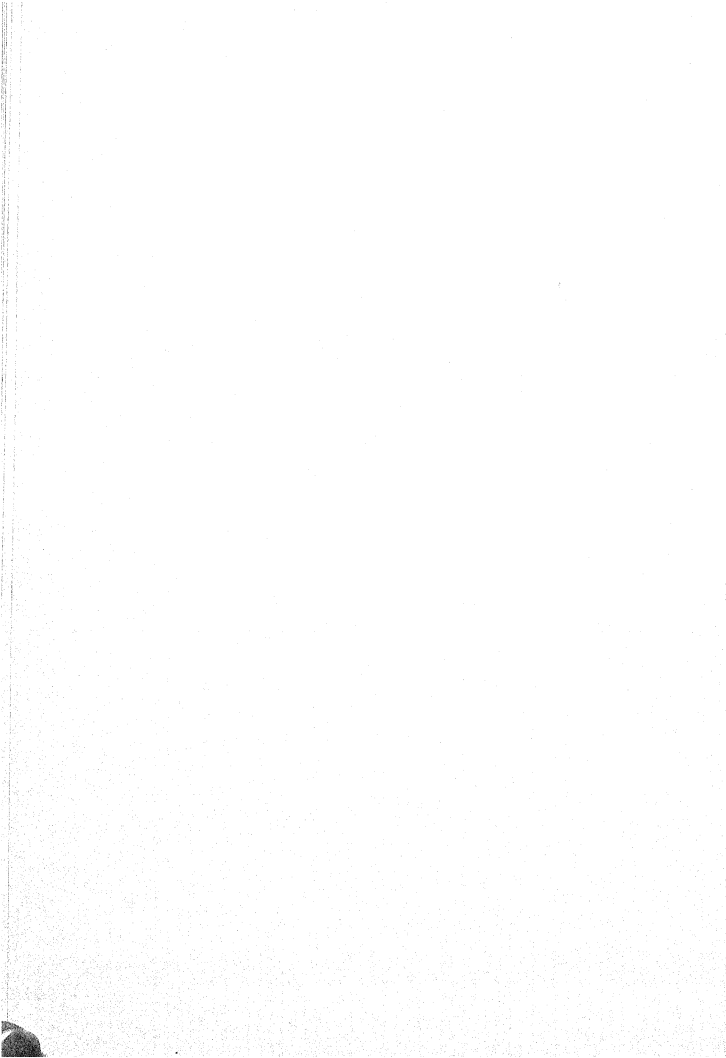
During the summer the Foundation had received from Mrs. Sage securities to be held in trust for two objects: \$300,000 to endow a Russell Sage Institute of Pathology in connection with the City Hospital and City Home of New York, for research in diseases of old age; and \$10,000 to provide an annual contribution to the Susana Hospital on the island of Guam. These trusts involved no financial outlay on the part of the Foundation, but they required attention from the officers. The Trustees are responsible for the investment of the capital of the trusts and the transfer of income to the beneficiaries, who are free to spend it at their discretion.



*Architectural detail from the east façade,
Russell Sage Foundation Building*



PART TWO
FIRST DECADE



IV

GENERAL VIEW: 1907-1917

WHEN the tenth anniversary of Russell Sage Foundation arrived on April 19, 1917, the United States had recently entered the World War. In sending greetings to Mrs. Sage, the Executive Committee, besides referring to the current situation, linked the date with an earlier event in the nation's history: "By a happy coincidence," the Committee wrote, "a new interest was added to the nineteenth of April, the birthday of American independence, when it became also the birthday of the Russell Sage Foundation. . . . On behalf of the Trustees of the Foundation, we send you these flowers in most grateful remembrance of all you have done for this city and for our beloved country—more beloved than ever in this hour when she is fighting, as we believe, the good fight for God and the Right." The war so affected the work of the Foundation that the summer of 1917 marks the end of a period in its existence. In no merely conventional sense the first decade was a well-defined opening chapter.¹

CHANGES IN THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

There were two changes in the Board of Trustees in this period.² Mr. Gilman died in October, 1908. The meeting of October, 1907, was the last he was able to attend. Although his association with the Foundation was brief, he left a lasting impress on it through his counsel in the formative stages and specifically, among other things, through the program he outlined for its publications. He was succeeded by Alfred T. White of Brooklyn, builder of improved tenement houses on a business basis, president of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, and active

¹ Preparation of a decennial report had been begun in 1916. It was well on its way by the spring of 1917 but the war interfered with its completion.

² Mr. Glenn's resignation as a trustee in 1907 and his re-election in April, 1913, was not a substantial change, for as secretary of the Board he had participated in all its discussions and proceedings.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

in other social and cultural agencies of Brooklyn; also founder of the Department of Social Ethics at Harvard University. Mr. Ogden died in the summer of 1913 and was succeeded by John H. Finley, who at the time was state commissioner of education and president of the University of the State of New York, and in earlier years had been secretary of the State Charities Aid Association and editor of the *Charities Review*.

DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAM

In this decade¹ the Foundation carried on its basic work along the lines adopted or foreshadowed in the opening months—research and publications through a staff of its own, and grants to other agencies. Policies as to grants developed. Fields for special study were chosen and a corps of directors and assistants was assembled. In 1909 the Foundation began to plan and create Forest Hills Gardens, a suburban community on Long Island. Midway in the decade the Russell Sage Foundation building was erected.

By the end of the decade 47 books and some 250 to 300 pamphlets had been published. Grants had been made to 47 agencies, most of which received their initial grant in the first three years. Four departments and five divisions, all of which originated before 1913, were engaged in studies in their respective fields, each headed by a man or a woman who by that time, if not at the time of appointment, was a leader in his field. The Library, well organized and expanded, was known as the principal collection in its special field in the country. The Foundation had been in its own building for several years. Forest Hills Gardens had become an example of a well-planned suburban community and the Foundation was looking forward to an early termination of its financial and supervisory responsibilities for the demonstration.

¹ A fiscal year beginning October 1 was established by the original constitution, adopted April 19, 1907. It was used for financial statements for the year ending September 30, 1909, and thereafter, and was adopted for annual departmental reports and other records. For most purposes, therefore, the "first decade" is regarded as ending on September 30 instead of April 19, 1917.

METHODS OF WORK

From its first year the Foundation spent its income mainly in two ways. It carried on activities through a staff of its own; and it made grants to other agencies for specified purposes. A third method, incorporation of a distinct company, financed by the Foundation in conformity with Mrs. Sage's express authorization for such use of part of the principal of the endowment, was adopted for the development of Forest Hills Gardens.

Making appropriations to other agencies was the quickest way, and an economical way, to get started. A great deal of work that would promote the purpose of the Foundation was already being carried on by other agencies under competent direction, or was projected and looking for funds. It was only necessary for the Foundation to consider proposals and select those that seemed most promising. This method was adopted as the most practicable way of putting the income at work promptly. Several grants were made by the Trustees at their first meeting, on April 19, 1907.

For the main part of its work, however, the Foundation contemplated building up its own staff, which would make studies, publish the results in books and otherwise, and gradually become such a national center of information and counsel as Mr. de Forest envisioned. This could not be done quickly, but within six months two projects in the category of "direct work" had been undertaken and the nucleus of a permanent staff had been acquired.

Grants have the advantage of not necessarily involving commitments for the future. When income falls off, they can be curtailed or cut off entirely, and ordinarily without serious consequences to grantees that are soundly organized. Some agencies have potential sources of support other than grants from the Foundation. If their grants are diminished or not renewed they can make greater efforts to "find" means elsewhere. They can reapportion their available funds so as to keep up the activities they consider most important. On the other hand, grants offer a foundation a convenient way to experiment in new lines and to expand without much risk. Several of the permanent depart-

ments developed from work that originated under other auspices with the help of grants.

By contrast with its grants, work undertaken by the Foundation through its own staff is a continuing obligation until some natural terminus is reached. It is wholly dependent on the Foundation. No other agency is likely to pick it up and carry it on if the Foundation drops it.

Whichever method was employed to further a given object, the principle of disregard for "credit," announced by Mr. de Forest in the early days, was consistently observed. The injunction of secrecy that was laid on grantees at first was soon relaxed, but acknowledgment of grants in annual reports was neither requested nor even encouraged. In the work of the departments help of other agencies and joint action with them were characteristic procedures, and no thought was given to appraising the respective contributions. As between making a grant and assumption of direct responsibility by the Foundation for an undertaking, the determining consideration was which arrangement was likely to give the better results.

POLICY AS TO GRANTS

The Foundation's policy concerning grants to other agencies was determined largely by the opportunities that presented themselves and the judgment of the director and the Trustees as to their importance and prospects for success. No plan was laid out in advance, aside from the general intention that they should constitute a secondary part of the program.

In general, grants were used to help a new organization, or a new activity of an existing organization, to get started and established on a firm basis; to contribute to the success of an occasional undertaking, such as a congress, an investigating commission, a campaign for a particular object; to carry through a definite piece of work of temporary duration; to help an agency weather a crisis. The main object, said Mr. Glenn in looking back, was "development of social work."

It was not contemplated originally that grants should develop into regular subsidies. The Foundation's policy in assisting a new

"cause," said Mr. de Forest at a public dinner in the spring of 1908,¹ was not to "support" it but "to get it over the initial stage, . . . to help start the machine." After that "it must go on by its own momentum and win its own support. Otherwise it would be pretty well demonstrated that this particular machine was not worth starting." Accordingly, with few exceptions, grants were made for only one year, without commitment for renewal.

"Fortunately," Mr. Glenn told the Trustees in December, 1907, "very few of our grants are likely to have to be repeated, except in cases where we feel pretty sure that it is worth while." A year later he reported that "in one or two instances" it had been necessary to make "a stiff resistance to attempts to let us carry loads that could more profitably be borne by other shoulders and pockets." "There is always a danger," he said, "in giving subsidies. . . . To educate and lead the public so that it will assume its share of responsibility and have a clear vision of its opportunities and the best methods of seizing them, will in the long run accomplish more than too much direct giving."

After another year's experience, in February, 1909, he asked: "Shall we be satisfied with subsidizing other agencies of various kinds? . . . We made our original subsidies with the hope that they would help grantees to gradually increase their annual income and release our income for other purposes. On the contrary, the consequent development of work has only led to applications for larger grants. . . . Are we to continue these appropriations indefinitely? If we withdraw them, what will be the effect on the grantees?" To make substantial annual grants to a few effective agencies would "accomplish much good," certainly, and would be an easy method for the Foundation to pursue, but in his opinion "would tend to social betterment more slowly and less effectively" than work carried on through a permanent staff. Further, the Foundation should not be content with attacking only such problems as "play, charity organization, tuberculosis, housing, salary loans," about which enough was

¹ Given by the Playground Association of America in honor of Mrs. Humphry Ward.

known to make clear the lines of attack. It was in a unique position, by reason of its income and independence, to study "more complex problems, which go more to the root of our social trouble," and "about which we know too little to apply remedies." If the Foundation did not do this it would "lose a splendid opportunity . . . to clarify and steady the public point of view."

As things worked out, for many years the Foundation used more of its income for grants than for its departments and publications and special studies,¹ and there were many instances in which continued help to an agency over a long period seemed worth while. In the case of grants to help strengthen or launch new activities, repetition for at least a few years became common practice—not as a policy but as a result of individual consideration of circumstances at each reapplication.

Reasons for deciding to continue grants were varied. A new activity that was taking longer to "get on its feet" than had been anticipated might nevertheless be making such progress as to give grounds for hoping that another year—and then another and another—would bring success, and in such a case it seemed wise to continue aid in order to reap the benefit of the money and effort already spent. Or immediate results might be so gratifying that they invited further expenditures to get larger results. Or the person immediately responsible for the new venture might be admirably qualified to develop it in every way except that he could not raise money. Or the undertaking might be one that, although greatly needed, did not have a popular appeal. The Foundation's policy in dealing with grantees had much in common with the current charity organization principles for helping families: individual treatment, based on knowledge of circumstances; avoidance of "pauperization"; aid toward self-support.

Most of the new activities the Foundation undertook to foster did, after a longer or a shorter period, achieve a position inde-

¹ Total expenditures of income to September 30, 1917, were not far from \$3,600,000. Of this about \$1,800,000 was used for grants, exclusive of grants for work that developed into departments; about \$1,400,000 for departments, publications, and special studies, including the early grants for work later incorporated into the direct work of the Foundation; and about \$400,000 for general administration and other purposes that contributed in different proportions to both direct and indirect work.

pendent of its financial help for their continued existence, though not infrequently they came back to ask a contribution for a special purpose, or to launch a new project, or for help when temporarily embarrassed. A few, notwithstanding grants and other kinds of help, did not develop enough vitality to warrant trying to keep them alive by transfusions. A few others became practically dependent on the Foundation for a substantial part of their support over a long period. One at least had a status hardly distinguishable from that of a Foundation department. Some of the agencies that received grants in money received also free rent in the Foundation building and free services from members of the staff.

Relations between the executives of the agencies receiving grants and the Foundation were not limited to financial matters. They came to the staff for advice and sympathy and encouragement, not merely for money. Sometimes trustees, the general director, or staff members were, or became, members of governing boards of grantees—not officially, but as individuals especially interested in the work of the agencies.

POLICY IN BUILDING UP DIRECT WORK

The pattern and substance of the Foundation's direct work, like its policy in regard to grants, was a matter of development. It was agreed at the outset that this should be the main interest of the Foundation, but how it should be organized, what fields it should cover, were questions that were not decided in advance.

Building up a staff was something that could not be rushed. On the men and women the director would gather around him depended the value of the contribution the Foundation would make through its direct work to the improvement of social and living conditions. In this, as in other matters, the Foundation "felt its way." Though by no means passive, it was deliberately opportunistic—alert to recognize opportunities in ideas or in persons and to take advantage of them. The only specifications formulated for members of the staff were, as the director said to the Trustees on December 23, 1907, that they must be "the best

men and women who can be secured as leaders and educators" for the particular work to be done.

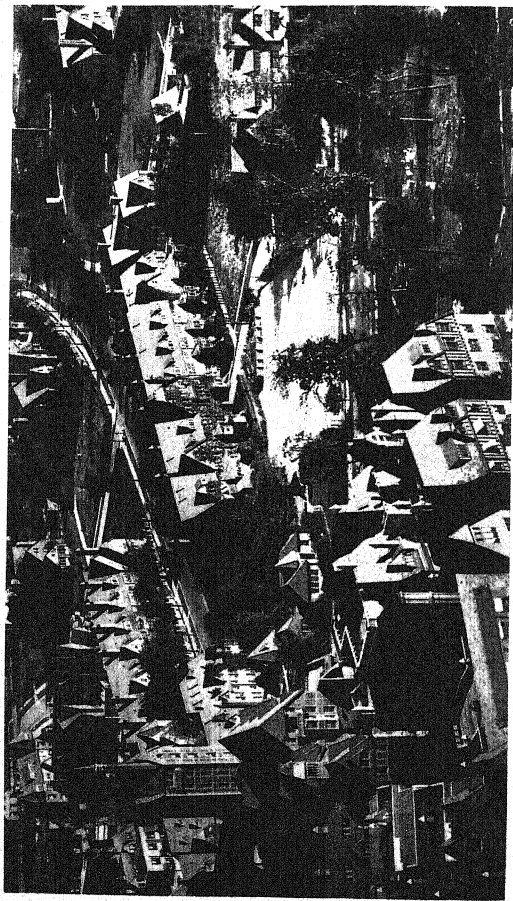
No blueprint was prepared of the particular work to be done. The director had in mind in a general way the outline of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, with its standing committees on basic problems. He did not get far in assembling a staff to cultivate these traditional fields of interest, because newer fields—some of which hitherto had scarcely felt the plow—kept coming into view and offering prospects of rich crops. The lines of work undertaken were such as offered opportunity for continued prosecution, in a developing program, over a period of years, or indeed as far into the future as could be foreseen, and were not provided for by any other organization. Each expansion of direct work was the result of an individual set of circumstances. As each new activity was added it was fitted into the general structure in such a way as seemed appropriate. Gradually a pattern of organization took shape.

In the fall of 1909 (October 25) "department" was formally adopted by the Trustees as the designation of "the three important branches of the Foundation's work" so far established and "director" as the title of the heads "of these and similar departments."¹ "Division" was applied not only to sections of a department but also to independent junior branches of work, which might be on their way to attaining departmental status. "Committee" was used in two instances.² In one title it persisted until 1916. The first three departments had substantial budgets of \$25,000 or more from the beginning and were in charge of persons of maturity, who already had a national reputation. The divisions were more tentative and experimental. Their directors were younger—two of them only recently out of college—and they began with budgets of \$5,000 or \$10,000.

All this may seem to have been haphazard. In reality it was the result of a consistent policy of going ahead step by step,

¹ The title of the director of the Foundation was changed on December 10, 1909, to "general director."

² A third committee, for the prevention of blindness, was a unit of the Foundation's direct work from 1908 to 1911. As it worked chiefly through other agencies and did not develop into a department, its story is included in Chapter XVIII.



A PART OF FOREST HILLS GARDENS

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allowing work to develop as the path at each turn became clear. It was a policy of freedom, of flexibility. It permitted the use of resources in what seemed the most advantageous way at the time of each decision.

FOREST HILLS GARDENS

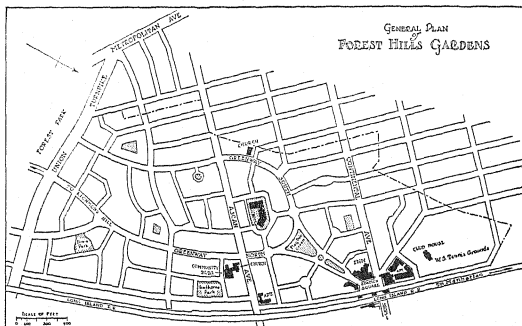
From the first summer of the Foundation's existence the Executive Committee had under consideration possibilities for such "investment for social betterment" out of its capital funds as Mrs. Sage had authorized in her letter of gift. Early in 1909 a tract of land was bought at Forest Hills in Queens Borough of New York City, nine miles from the Pennsylvania Railroad station, and in the summer the Sage Foundation Homes Company was incorporated to create on the site a suburban community that would exemplify some of the possibilities of intelligent town planning, with the hope of encouraging similar ventures elsewhere. The specific aims were to provide healthful, attractive, and solidly built homes, and to demonstrate that convenient thoroughfares, quiet domestic streets, and ample public open spaces are economically practical as well as beneficial features in a suburban development.

The Foundation and the Homes Company were distinct corporations: the Foundation supplied the capital for the purchase of the land and the development of the project; the Company had entire responsibility for carrying out the plan. The original directors of the Company were all trustees of the Foundation. In July, 1909, Edward H. Bouton of Baltimore was appointed general manager of the Company on a part-time basis. He resigned in April, 1911, and John M. Demarest was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Demarest continued in charge of the enterprise until, in May, 1922, the Foundation sold its stock in the Company to him.

Forest Hills Gardens contains about 200 acres. The opportunity was offered there of buying moderately priced, well-built, attractive homes on easier terms of payment than those usually required in real estate transactions. Purchasers of lots and houses could pay from 5 to 10 per cent in cash, borrow about 50 per cent on first mortgage from a title company, and pay the remainder

of the price to the Homes Company in monthly installments secured by a second mortgage covering a period of ten years.

A distinguishing feature of Forest Hills Gardens is the beauty and harmony of its design. The plan for the land and streets was made by Frederick Law Olmsted. The architectural designing was in charge of Grosvenor Atterbury. Two wide streets running through the Gardens carry through travel, so that other streets



Reproduced from New York Regional Survey, Volume 7.

may be used only for local traffic. The streets, of varying widths depending upon whether they are main thoroughfares or in residential sections, are bordered with strips of grass and trees. Forest Hills Inn, the shops, and other buildings in the group about the railroad station form a unit which serves as a dignified entrance to the suburb. Harmony in appearance was aimed at, but the houses vary in size, arrangement, and architectural treatment, as well as in cost. Some stand alone; others are in groups. All, however, were required to conform to the high standards of the Company, even when built by individual owners. In the erection of houses and the development of the property substantial construction and permanence were emphasized.

GENERAL VIEW: 1907-1917

By 1917 the character of the suburb, both in its physical aspects and in its community life, was solidly established. A considerable number of homes had been built. The Inn on Station Square offered hotel life for persons who wished it as well as accommodations for week-end guests and for social affairs. Shops around the Square served the everyday needs of the residents, and the Square itself was used for community gatherings. A green and two smaller parks provided additional public open spaces, while trees and shrubbery around the houses gave the entire place a park-like appearance. The West Side Tennis Club, which had bought its land from the Sage Foundation Homes Company, was well established. There were active women's and men's clubs and an Audubon Society. Beginning in 1914 the Fourth of July was celebrated annually with a "safe and sane" all-day program, ending with dancing in the Square in the evening. Mrs. Sage had given a building for a community church, which was dedicated in October, 1915.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION BUILDING

When the Foundation began work no offices could be had in the United Charities Building, which was the natural choice for a base of operations. For the first nine months two rooms at 30 Broad Street, the building in which Mr. de Forest's law firm was located, served as headquarters. On February 1, 1908, the central office was moved to the Kennedy Building at 289 Fourth Avenue, adjoining the United Charities Building, and three months later to space that became available in the latter.

Meanwhile, when Dr. Gulick began work in the fall of 1907, he took an office at 624 Madison Avenue. From there he soon moved to the Metropolitan Building at 1 Madison Avenue. As the staff of the Foundation grew, several other departments had to be housed at 31 Union Square as well as in the Metropolitan Building. The disadvantage of scattered offices was felt from the beginning, but there was little prospect that all could be accommodated in the United Charities and Kennedy Buildings at any time in the near future. Older tenants who had prior claims there

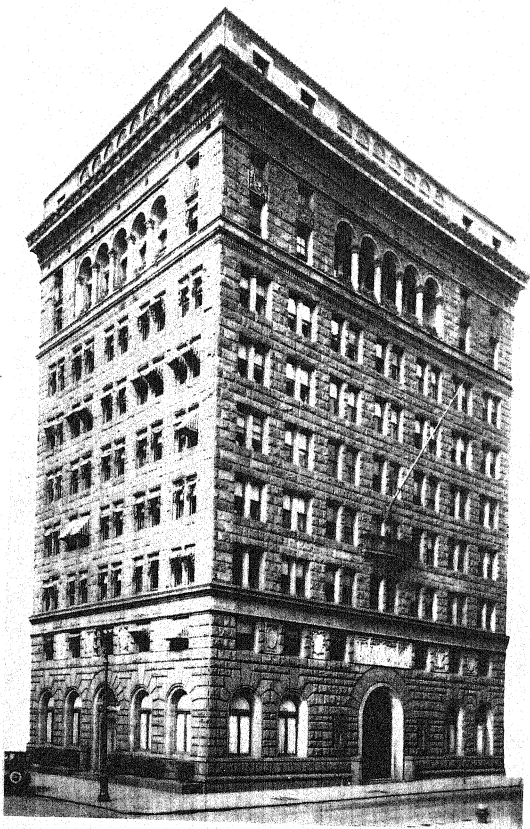
were expanding also—partly as a consequence of grants from the Foundation.

Mrs. Sage, moreover, wanted the Foundation to have a building of its own, a building that would bear her husband's name and stand as a memorial to him.¹ She talked to Mr. de Forest about it. In the winter of 1911-1912 she became insistent. This was the single instance, the Trustees recorded in the memorial resolution adopted after her death, in which she "sought to direct their action," and in this case, they added, "she proved her wisdom and foresight."

On February 12, 1912, Mr. de Forest wrote Mrs. Sage that the best location for the building—"from the point of view of adjacency to other charitable work, central point, and quiet"—seemed to be one of the corners of Twenty-second Street and Lexington Avenue. Within a few weeks a site had been bought on the southwest corner, a block from the United Charities Building and surrounded on all sides by low buildings. It is also only a block north of Gramercy Park. Grosvenor Atterbury was asked to prepare plans and get estimates for construction. It was decided to erect a nine-story building, and to put in foundations strong enough to support 12 stories. Because of the memorial character of the building, more thought was given to beauty of design, materials, and construction, and more money was spent to obtain it, than otherwise would have been deemed suitable.

The building is designed in Florentine style. The outer walls and the entrance lobby are Kingwood stone, a light brown stone with a pink tinge, which at the time the building was erected had been used in New York only for the Synod Hall of the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine. The second story is decorated between the windows with carved panels indicative of the aims and spirit of the Foundation. They were designed by Mr. Atterbury. Over the arched front door is a large panel divided into three parts: Service flanked by Study and Counsel. On the front there are also four smaller medallions symbolizing Religion, Education, Civics, and Justice, and on the Lexington

¹ Soon after the building was occupied she presented a portrait of Mr. Sage for the Trustees' Room.



RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION BUILDING

Avenue side are four symbolizing Health, Work, Play, and Housing.

Embedded in the entrance floor of the lobby is a bronze plate emblematic of the Foundation's activities, which was also designed by Mr. Atterbury.¹ The center of the circular medallion is a shield showing bees in a honeycomb, symbolic of good organization and good building. The shield is supported on each side by a lighted torch, suggesting the educational aim of the Foundation. Around the rim runs the inscription, "Russell Sage Foundation. For the Improvement of Social and Living Conditions."

On the ground floor are two large rooms of Florentine design at right angles with each other, which are used for meetings, lectures, and exhibitions: East Hall, parallel with Lexington Avenue, and South Hall. They open into each other and together can seat about 300 people. They can be separated by a movable partition. On the second floor is a room for smaller meetings.² The rest of the second floor and five other floors are given to offices which are occupied by the administration and departments of the Foundation, and by some allied organizations. The eighth floor and most of the ninth are devoted to the Library. On the ninth floor there are also a lunchroom and a lounge for women. During this period the roof was open for recreational purposes.

In September, 1913, the Library was moved into its quarters, which had been planned for the convenience and comfort of the staff and readers and to provide stack-room adequate "for years to come." On November 25, Mr. Glenn took possession of his office and wrote Mrs. Sage a letter from the new address. Within a few weeks all the work of the Foundation was gathered together in its permanent home.

It was expected that ultimately all the offices of the building would be needed for the Foundation's own work. Meanwhile unoccupied rooms³ were assigned to other organizations "in order to aid and co-operate with them in carrying out certain

¹ See title page.

² During recent years over 500 meetings a year have been held in these rooms.

³ A little more than a third of the office space, exclusive of Library and conference halls.

objects included in the scope of the Foundation." They paid no rent but agreed to move out on ninety days' notice if their space was needed by the Foundation. Similarly outside organizations were allowed to use the halls and committee rooms for meetings with only a nominal charge to cover cost of extra service required. The demand was so great that the Trustees in April, 1915, restricted the privilege, as far as regular periodical meetings were concerned, to societies occupying space in the building or receiving grants from the Foundation. In January, 1917, they adopted a general resolution that the use of the halls and committee rooms "be not granted to any agencies or used for any purposes that are not germane to the work of the Foundation without the approval of the Executive Committee or the Trustees."

Investment in the building cut off a slice of income, and cost of maintenance and operation offset the saving in rent. Financial considerations, however, were of less weight than the advantage of commodious quarters for the entire staff under one roof, the opportunities for helping other agencies afforded by the meeting halls and unoccupied offices, and the benefits to staff, students, and the public from the well-equipped library. It was an advantage also that the Foundation now had a dignified and suitable home of its own.

DECREASE IN INCOME

By the time the Foundation moved into its own building its income was showing the effects of investment of large blocks of capital in enterprises that could not be expected to yield a return for some years.¹ Chief of these was Forest Hills Gardens, to which a little over \$4,000,000 had been advanced by 1914 for building the Inn and houses, and for other necessary construction, such as grading and paving streets, and drainage.² Over \$800,000 was invested in the Foundation's building and its equipment. For

¹ On January 19, 1911, Mrs. Sage amended her letter of gift to authorize the investment of one-half the endowment (as Mr. de Forest had suggested originally) instead of only one-fourth, in projects for the improvement of social and living conditions, provided such investments, in the judgment of the Trustees, were likely to produce an annual income of not less than 3 per cent.

² Advances were offset by mortgages on land and homes that had been sold, the value of the Inn, and other unsold property and other assets.

several years between four and five million dollars of the capital fund was tied up in these ways. The endowment when given was invested so as to yield about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. From \$460,000 in the fiscal year 1908-1909, when Forest Hills Gardens was begun, annual income fell year by year to \$260,000 in 1916-1917, the end of the decade under review.

Furthermore, standards of compensation in social work had been rising in the years since the Foundation was established, and soon after the outbreak of war in Europe in August, 1914, the general level of prices in the United States began to rise. In terms of purchasing power, therefore, the decline in the Foundation's income over the decade was even greater than its decline expressed in dollars.

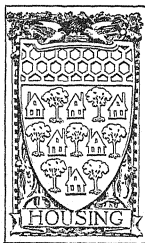
When the reduction of income began to be felt, expansion of program had to stop, as the charter permits the expenditure of income only, forbidding by implication use of the principal of the endowment. No new grants were made in this period after 1909 except for purposes that were self-limiting in their nature and required relatively small amounts of money. Renewals were kept to a minimum. No new departments within the Foundation were established after 1912 until 1924.¹ In the spring of 1914 the Trustees in approving a budget for the next six months foresaw the probability of a deficit and provided that any sum it might be necessary to borrow should be a charge against future income receivable. The Executive Committee, they recorded, had agreed that to make further serious reductions "would cripple both the direct work of the Foundation and the work of the outside agencies with which it is co-operating." "All these activities," they said, "seem to be in a stage of progress which makes continued support necessary." Expenditures for grants were reduced faster and more substantially than expenditures for direct work, until in 1916 and 1917, for the first time, they were less than the amount spent for departments, publications, and special studies. Disbursements for administration and other general expenses were low throughout the period.

¹ The creation of Publications "Department" in 1916 was merely an administrative change. It introduced no new line of work.

The latter part of the decade was devoted largely to consolidating and prosecuting the work initiated in the first few years. In spite of the rising standards of compensation money still went far in salaries, and pioneering ardor supplied an asset that money could not have bought.

WAR

When the United States entered the World War in the spring of 1917 the staff of Russell Sage Foundation included a number of persons exceptionally qualified to be useful to the federal government in some of the new tasks for which it was not yet well equipped. As soon as participation by the United States appeared imminent, the services of the Foundation were put at the disposal of the Secretary of War, the director of the Council of National Defense, and the director-general of Civilian Relief of the American National Red Cross. Before the end of the summer a large part of the regular activities of the Foundation had been suspended and most of its staff was engaged in war work.



*Architectural detail from the north facade,
Russell Sage Foundation Building*

V

ORIGIN OF EARLY DEPARTMENTS

WITHIN a few years after the Foundation was established most of the fields it has thus far (to 1946) elected to cultivate by its own staff were represented by departments, or units called by some other name. The general process of selection has been described in the preceding chapter. In the following pages developments are traced as nearly as possible in chronological order.

Several of the fields had a preliminary period of cultivation under other auspices, with the help of grants from the Foundation, before they were taken over by the Foundation. In retrospect such preliminary periods have been regarded as introductory chapters in the history of the respective departments. By this method of reckoning, though not according to dates of incorporation in the program of direct work, Charity Organization is the oldest of the departments. Following, in order of their appearance among the Foundation's interests, whether as objects of grants or as extensions of direct responsibility, were Recreation, Education, Statistics, Child-Helping, Women's Work (Industrial Studies), Southern Highlands, Remedial Loans, Surveys and Exhibits.¹ Formal establishment of "departments" began in 1909.

EPISODE ANTEDATING DEPARTMENTS

A unique opportunity for a kind of service later characteristic of the departments came to the Foundation in October, 1907, before any departments had been established. Oklahoma was expecting within a few weeks the President's proclamation ad-

¹The Library and Publications from the beginning were two of the most important parts of the Foundation's direct work, but they do not belong in the same category as the specialized departments for research and education. They were general services, affecting all the departments and the public as well. Their development through the decade is told in Chapters XVI and XVII. Publications were the immediate responsibility and a particular interest of the general director.

mitting it as a state into the Union. Looking toward the first session of the legislature, Miss Kate Barnard, the outstanding social worker of the Territory, candidate for the elective position of state commissioner of charities and corrections,¹ sent Mr. Glenn an impassioned plea that he use a "small portion of Mr. Sage's millions . . . in securing ideal laws for a new state" by sending some of the recognized "authorities" on social legislation to help in the preparation of fundamental measures. The Trustees, agreeing with Mr. Glenn that a modest expenditure here might be "a fruitful investment," made an appropriation to be spent at the discretion of the director.

Mr. Glenn asked Hastings H. Hart, member-elect of the Foundation's staff but still living in Chicago, to go to Oklahoma and confer with Miss Barnard; also Alexander Johnson, secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and Samuel J. Barrows, secretary of the New York Prison Association. By arrangement with the National Child Labor Committee, A. J. McKelway also was sent. These men, in consultation with Miss Barnard, legislative committees, and informed citizens, drew bills for compulsory education and control of child labor, and for state systems for the care and treatment of criminals, of the feeble-minded, and of the insane. These bills were enacted by the legislature. There was no doubt, Mr. Glenn reported to the Trustees, that the advice and help given by the above-mentioned men "was valuable in establishing good standards and preventing the passage of impracticable bills." The cost to the Foundation was under \$700.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION

The Charity Organization Department had its origin in the summer of 1907 in a grant to Charities Publication Committee for its Field Department, which for two years had been operating as a co-operative venture with limited resources and limited time

¹ Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, writing to Mr. Glenn, called her "zealous," "a live wire," who knew "a lot about her work." After the election, in which she led her ticket by several thousand votes, Dr. Hart reported that her hold in the state was "phenomenal"—"she has the legislators following her about like a flock of sheep."

ORIGIN OF EARLY DEPARTMENTS

of a volunteer personnel, and which in the next two years, with the help of the grant, demonstrated the demand for its services.

Miss Mary E. Richmond, who was chairman of the special committee in charge of the Field Department, now became director of the Charity Organization Department of the Foundation. She was one of the outstanding social workers of the country.¹ As general secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity since 1900, and of the Baltimore society earlier, she had long been recognized as a leader in the charity organization field. In the National Conference she was known as a brilliant thinker and speaker. Her skill as a teacher was recognized. She had already published two books, which showed literary ability as well as wise ideas.

RECREATION

How the Foundation came to create a "committee" on "playground extension," with Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick as chairman, has been told. From September, 1907, Dr. Gulick was virtually a member of the staff of the Foundation on part time. From February 15, 1908, he was a full-time member. To be secretary of the committee, Dr. Gulick brought with him from the city Department of Education Lee F. Hanmer, inspector of public school athletics. It seemed clear to the committee that the best way to promote "playground extension" was by working through the Playground Association of America. Mr. Hanmer accordingly was assigned to the Association as field secretary. Plans were made in October and Mr. Hanmer began work on November 1.

EDUCATION

Hardly had Dr. Gulick joined the staff of the Foundation when he proposed a study in the field of education. For three or four years the New York City Superintendent of Schools, William H. Maxwell, had been calling attention in his annual report to the large proportion of children who did not progress through the

¹ An account of Miss Richmond's life is included in *The Long View*, edited by Joanna C. Colcord, her successor at Russell Sage Foundation. This book was published by the Foundation in 1930.

grades at a normal rate. In 1904, he reported, 39 per cent of the children in the elementary schools were "retarded."

Dr. Gulick's idea was that the reasons for retardation and clues to methods of reducing its amount could be discovered by a study of school records and of measures that had been tried. He proposed that the Foundation spend a modest sum for such a study. An appropriation for a Backward School Children Investigation was made in October, 1907. Dr. Gulick was appointed chairman. To conduct the investigation a secretary was engaged: Leonard P. Ayres, at the time general superintendent of schools and chief of the division of statistics of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico. Work began on November 1.

STATISTICS

The appropriation "for supervision of investigations and statistics" made in October, 1907, was drawn upon from time to time until the summer of 1911 to compensate John Koren,¹ on a per diem basis, for advice on schedules of studies under way and criticism of statistical material presented in reports.

By that time it had become clear that more direct and more continuous oversight of the studies involving statistics was needed. It was arranged, therefore, that Mr. Ayres, with a statistician as assistant, should add to his responsibilities the supervision and editing of the statistical portions of the Foundation's reports. A year later, October, 1912, an independent unit was created, the Division of Statistics, with Mr. Ayres as director and Earle Clark as statistician.

CHILD-HELPING

At the November, 1907, meeting of the Trustees, the director asked authorization to engage Hastings H. Hart for a year, during a leave of absence from his regular position, to make a study of child-saving work, carry on propaganda for juvenile courts, or some kindred work.

¹ At that time expert special agent of the federal Bureau of the Census and chairman of the committee on statistics of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, in which capacity he worked to promote uniform statistics in the different fields.

ORIGIN OF EARLY DEPARTMENTS

Dr. Hart had been the first secretary of the Minnesota State Board of Correction and Charities; president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1893 and its general secretary from 1894 through 1901. At this time he was superintendent of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, which he had made one of the most progressive agencies of its kind in the United States. He could not leave Chicago immediately, but he began his study of child-placing for the Foundation on April 1, 1908.

WOMEN'S WORK (INDUSTRIAL STUDIES)

In January, 1908, the Trustees made a grant that proved to be a step toward a Department of Industrial Studies. The grant was made "for investigations into trades for women and women's lodgings . . . to be done by Miss Mary van Kleeck of the Alliance Employment Bureau under the direction of the director." These investigations had grown out of studies begun by Miss van Kleeck in 1905, a year after her graduation from Smith College, as a fellow of the College Settlements Association; continued in 1906-1907 under the joint auspices of several organizations; and carried forward in 1907-1908, under an advisory committee organized for the purpose, by the Alliance Employment Bureau, a local philanthropic agency for the placement of women and girls in factories and offices.

When in 1909 this advisory committee became an independent Committee on Women's Work, the Foundation continued to support the studies in progress. In November, 1910, the appropriation was renewed, although the committee could no longer give the work continuous attention. In view of the value of the facts that had been gathered, the general director explained to the Trustees, it seemed important to round out the investigations, "and still more important not to lose from our staff such good investigators." The investigators were then taken over by the Foundation and the studies continued as part of its work under the title Committee on Women's Work.

SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

In May, 1908, the National Conference of Charities and Correction met in Richmond. Mrs. John M. Glenn was chairman of the section on Needy Families. On her program was a meeting to discuss social and economic conditions in the Southern Appalachian region. In preparation for this meeting Mrs. Glenn had sent invitations to a number of workers in the southern mountains. John C. Campbell was one who attended.

Born and educated in the North, Mr. Campbell had been engaged for thirteen years in educational work in the mountains of Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia, most recently as president of Piedmont College, in northern Georgia. He was greatly concerned about the problems of the region. He was hoping to make, with the help of Mrs. Campbell, a comprehensive study of the common needs of the mountain people and of the efforts that were being made to meet them. His idea was to fit out a wagon that would be their home *en route* and travel through the country, getting acquainted with the people in their homes and talking with school superintendents, teachers, missionaries, doctors, and others who were working among them.

He told Mr. and Mrs. Glenn about his plan and offered to make the study without compensation for services. At the meeting of the Trustees on May 25 the director presented Mr. Campbell's proposal. Soon thereafter the Executive Committee made an appropriation to meet his expenses. After spending the summer in consulting with well-informed persons and mapping a route, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell set forth on their pioneering adventure early in the fall. The work of surveying conditions and resources continued and developed year after year, until in October, 1912, it was established as the Southern Highland Division of the Foundation. In March, 1913, headquarters were established in Asheville, North Carolina.

FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THREE DEPARTMENTS

All the undertakings mentioned were at their inception either tentative in nature or the direct responsibility of some other

ORIGIN OF EARLY DEPARTMENTS

agency. As the months went by, the director was confirmed in his belief that the Foundation's best method of work was through an independent staff of its own. He expressed this in his report to the Trustees on December 21, 1908:

The formation of a group of leaders with high educational and spiritual power, each responsible for the development of a special division of our work and all co-operating in counsel and action for a general purpose, is probably our most potent opportunity and one which we are in a unique position to take advantage of.

I am convinced that we should keep under our own control and direct all investigating work that we undertake. Only thus can we do large pieces of investigation, give continuous attention to important subjects, secure a permanent corps of investigators, who will grow more and more expert by experience, and be entitled to use the facts and information gathered as may seem best to us.

At the next meeting he repeated his conviction that the Foundation could do its work most effectively "through a permanent staff of able leaders working in co-operation," and by planning for "steady continuous educational work for years to come." At this meeting (February 8, 1909) action was taken toward carrying out his recommendations. The engagement of Dr. Hart "to direct all of our work for the improvement and development of child-caring" was unanimously authorized. It was also decided, by unanimous approval, that the Foundation should assume responsibility for the charity-organization-extension work of the Field Department of Charities magazine, and appoint Miss Richmond in charge of it. For each of these purposes an expenditure not to exceed \$25,000 a year, beginning May 1, was authorized.

Results obtained by the Field Department under Miss Richmond's chairmanship, with Francis H. McLean as field secretary and general executive, indicated great possibilities. Dr. Hart's work for the Foundation was already bringing about improvements in methods of caring for children in several states. The fresh interest aroused throughout the country by the Conference

on the Care of Dependent Children¹ held in Washington in January, 1909, on the call of President Theodore Roosevelt, in which Dr. Hart had had an important part, made the time seem peculiarly opportune for effective work in this field. Both Miss Richmond and Dr. Hart were obvious selections for membership on the Foundation's permanent staff.

The enlarged program in the field of child welfare was formally organized on May 1, 1909. Miss Florence L. Lattimore was appointed associate director. Miss Lattimore at this time was making for the Foundation, under Dr. Hart's supervision, a case study of institutional children in the Pittsburgh district, a sequel to the study she had made of the institutions themselves for the Pittsburgh Survey.²

Miss Richmond could not come to New York on May 1, as had been hoped, because of delay in finding a successor in Philadelphia. Her department was organized on October 1, 1909. Mr. McLean continued, under the change of auspices, as field secretary. Miss Margaret F. Byington, who had been his associate since January, continued as associate field secretary.

By the summer of 1909 the work that the Playground Extension Committee was created to do had been done. The Playground Association of America, through the help given it by the Committee, was now "on its feet," and was prepared to carry on whatever "playground propaganda" was needed. Dr. Gulick and Mr. Hanmer were turning to other problems in the field of recreation. In May, 1909, Clarence A. Perry had been brought on the staff to study the possibilities of making more use of school buildings and grounds for recreation and other community activities. Similarly the Backward Children Investigation had led on from causes of retardation to medical inspection of schools, school lunches, and open-air schools, and other topics connected with public education were beckoning. Both recreation and education evidently were fields that the Foundation could cultivate profitably for some time to come. The two lines of work, independent

¹ Later known as the First White House Conference.

² Her report was published in 1914 in one of the volumes of the Pittsburgh Survey, and simultaneously as a pamphlet of the Department.

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except for the link at the top in the person of Dr. Gulick, were organized on November 1, 1909, as co-ordinate divisions of a department, with Dr. Gulick as director, Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Ayres as associate directors.

Child-Helping, Charity Organization, and Child Hygiene (tentative), were adopted by the Trustees on October 25, 1909, as the titles of these first three "departments." The name "Child Hygiene," as the "tentative" in parentheses suggests, was not considered satisfactory as a covering description of the divisions of recreation and education. Nothing better was found, however, and the name was used during the brief life of the Department.

At the close of 1912 Dr. Gulick resigned, because his work as president of the Camp Fire Girls was "more and more absorbing." Further, he said, "the work which I came to the Sage Foundation to do has been accomplished and is already in competent hands." In January, 1913, the Department of Child Hygiene was dissolved. Its co-ordinate divisions were continued as independent units: the Department of Recreation and the Division of Education.

REMEDIAL LOANS

By the summer of 1909 still another department-of-the-future was emerging. Two fellows of the Bureau of Research¹ of the New York School of Philanthropy had been attracted by the almost unexplored field of the hardships suffered by persons of small means when they needed a small loan. In successive years (1907-1908 and 1908-1909) Clarence W. Wassam and Arthur H. Ham made exploratory studies respectively of the Salary Loan Business in New York City² and the Chattel Loan Business. Both reports were published as pamphlets by the Foundation promptly upon completion.

They presented evidence that an incredible degree of exploitation was possible, and frequently was exercised, by the unregulated commercial lending agencies. Loan sharks not only made exorbitant charges for loans on salaries and household effects, but

¹ Financed by a grant from Russell Sage Foundation (see p. 30).

² Supplemented by material from Philadelphia collected by Frank Julian Warne.

they used ingenious methods to keep clients in their debt and otherwise at their mercy. Even after repaying many times the amount of their loans, borrowers often found themselves in a state of virtual subjection to callous lenders, with no prospect of release in the discernible future.

Social workers, as individual cases of distress came to their notice,¹ had realized that here was a "social problem." Just so, during the depression of 1893-1894, the hardships arising from the excessive charges of pawnbrokers had led a group of men, of whom Mr. de Forest was one, to organize the Provident Loan Society of New York, popularly known as the "philanthropic pawnshop."²

There were 14 companies³ in the country at this time engaged in lending money at reasonable rates on chattel mortgages or pledges of personal property. None of them made loans on salaries. On the initiative of Frank Tucker, vice-president of the Provident Loan Society of New York, and W. N. Finley, manager of the Chattel Loan Association of Baltimore, representatives of these agencies met at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Buffalo in June, 1909, and formed the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations. Its object was to promote the organization and facilitate the operation of "remedial" agencies. Russell Sage Foundation, believing the time was ripe for a thorough study of what was being done and an effort to increase facilities, employed Arthur H. Ham as its agent, to

¹ Among the 60,000 personal appeals to Mrs. Sage in the first two years after her husband's death, W. Frank Persons of the Charity Organization Society, who investigated them for her, found so many from victims of loan sharks that he called to Mr. de Forest's attention "the apparent great demand for an organized business, which would take care of this obvious need in the community, under regulated and decent auspices."

² It was "philanthropic" only in its underlying motive and in the limitation of 6 per cent that was set for the return on capital invested, which was in the form of "certificates of contribution," not shares of stock. Rates charged on loans were low compared with the rates of commercial pawnshops at the time, but they were set high enough to cover all costs of operation, including losses on unredeemed pledges, and to allow accumulation of a surplus—which could be used only for expansion of the business or for gifts to charitable organizations, not to increase the return to contributors of capital.

³ A fifteenth was included in the original list but was dropped from the Federation a few months later when investigation showed that "it was not being operated in an approved manner."

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initiate the campaign and to carry forward the studies he and Mr. Wassam had begun.

Mr. Ham, like Miss van Kleeck, stepped right out of college into the field of work that was to engage him through life (at any rate to 1946). Coming from Bowdoin College to Columbia University for graduate study in 1908-1909, he was appointed to the fellowship in the New York School of Philanthropy that determined his permanent line of interest. He began work as special agent of the Foundation on August 1, 1909, working at first in the offices of the Provident Loan Society and under Mr. Tucker's direction. Within a year he had aroused interest in a number of places and had brought about the organization of several new loan associations operating on "legitimate" principles. His work was established by the Foundation as the Division of Remedial Loans in October, 1910.

SURVEYS AND EXHIBITS

After the results of the Pittsburgh Survey were published, requests for "surveys" began coming to the Foundation and to The Survey magazine from cities in various parts of the country. The magazine could not abandon its responsibilities as a journal and make a business of duplicating what it had done in Pittsburgh. Nor could the Foundation meet the cost of conducting surveys in even a few of the places that made requests for them. It was considered important, however, the general director of the Foundation reported for the Executive Committee to the Trustees in April, 1912, "to foster the spirit of inquiry into local conditions by the people of localities and advise as to methods of procedure in order that serious mistakes may be avoided and that the work may be guided in such a way as to make it most effective." The Foundation seemed "the best, if not the only, agency that can give the proper guidance and control to local surveys." An appropriation was made for a Division of Surveys, to be at first under the direction of the Charity Organization Department.

In the next two months there were changes in the original plan. Current interest in graphic methods of presenting facts about social conditions and social work, and their value in setting

forth the findings of surveys, had led to a decision to broaden the scope of the Department to include exhibits.¹ Instead of organizing the new work as a division of the Charity Organization Department, it was established as an independent department, under the general supervision of a committee of which the director of the Charity Organization Department was chairman.² An advisory committee was provided, to consist of executives of national agencies.

On July 1, 1912, Shelby M. Harrison began work as director of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits. The office was opened on October 1. It was to be "a clearing house for advice and information on social surveys and exhibits, and for field assistance in organizing surveys and exhibits."

Mr. Harrison had been brought on the staff of the Pittsburgh Survey in the summer of 1908 (at the end of two years of graduate study at Boston University and Harvard, following graduation from Northwestern) to take charge of preparation of maps and charts and statistical tables for the reports. Later he had been financial secretary of Charities Publication Committee and had been on the editorial staff of *The Survey*. In 1911 he had directed the Syracuse Survey and the field work of the Birmingham Survey.

Ewart G. Routzahn was appointed associate director from September 1, 1912, to give special attention to exhibits. For six years he had been in charge of the Southern Traveling Exhibit of the National Tuberculosis Association, and in 1908 had been responsible for the exhibit at the International Tuberculosis Congress in Washington.

¹ In October, 1911, at one of the interrelations luncheons arranged by the Charity Organization Department (see p. 131) a committee representing national agencies was appointed to consider the formation of a "social exhibit organization or joint committee," to stimulate the use of exhibits and improve their quality. The committee recommended that such an agency be formed, and appointed a subcommittee to find out whether Russell Sage Foundation would be willing to underwrite it for three years to the extent of \$5,000 a year, or would itself create a committee for the purpose within the Foundation.

² The other members of the committee were Livingston Farrand, of the National Tuberculosis Association; Paul U. Kellogg, of *The Survey*; Francis H. McLean, of the American Association for Organizing Charity; Leonard P. Ayres, of the Foundation's staff; and John M. Glenn.

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DEPARTMENTAL WORK AND STATUS

By 1913 the departmental structure was firmly established, and most of the departments that have existed at any time were at work. They may be described in general terms as agencies engaged in research, education, and consultation. They study social problems and methods of dealing with them; put the knowledge thus gained at the disposition of the public in books and pamphlets, magazine articles, addresses, formal teaching; and help people to apply this knowledge. An important part of their work from the beginning has consisted in participation in conferences, membership on committees, and consultation with individuals, through interviews and correspondence. Long before the end of the first decade the departments were recognized centers of information and counsel, each in its own field.

In their internal organization and development there has been no uniform pattern. The relative amount of time devoted to research, writing, speaking, and consultation, for example, the relative amount spent in "the field" and in the office, varies in the different departments and in each department at different periods. On such matters the directors have been free to use their own judgment. They have been free also to work out their own ideas and to develop their departmental programs according to their own judgment. They have not even had advisory committees, except the Department of Surveys and Exhibits in its first years and the Social Work Year Book (established 1929), but they have known where to go for advice, both in the Foundation and outside. In Russell Sage Foundation a department exists as a base of operation for personalities, rather than as a frame to which personalities must conform.

VI

RECREATION: 1907-1917

ALTHOUGH the Department of Recreation was not the first department established, the Committee on Playground Extension, from which it developed, was the Foundation's first venture in sustained work of its own.

Through the first decade the work in recreation was primarily promotion—promotion of ideas and promotion of organizations to make the ideas effective. The earlier years were devoted largely to studying and fostering the development of particular activities. From 1914 until the regular work of the Department was suspended for participation in the war, the major interest was the planning of rounded community programs of recreation.

PLAYGROUNDS

When Mr. Hanmer, on November 1, 1907, began his work as secretary of the Foundation's Committee on Playground Extension, he was assigned to the Playground Association of America as its field secretary. His work was carried on in the name of the Association. The Association's letterhead was used in correspondence, and on all occasions the Association was put forward as the national leader in the playground movement. The entire cost of the field work for nearly two years was met by the Foundation. Through its Committee the Foundation also made a special contribution of \$5,000 to the expense of the Association's Second Play Congress, held in New York in September, 1908, and gave a modest sum for the salary of a financial secretary to build up the membership.¹

The Playground Association was receiving many requests for advice, as a result of the First Play Congress in Chicago and the Exposition at Jamestown. After closing up the exhibit, and

¹ Immediate results of the membership campaign exceeded the highest expectations. Among the first replies to a letter asking for contributions of \$10 was a check for \$25,000.

writing to everyone who had registered there, Mr. Hanmer began collecting information from all cities of 5,000 population and over, building up a mailing list and setting in motion all the current methods of educational propaganda. News items and articles were sent to the important newspapers throughout the country. A column was contributed regularly to *The Playground* magazine. Publication of articles on play and playgrounds and presentation of the subject at conventions was stimulated. Printed material¹ was supplied to inquirers. Lantern slides, cuts, and pictures were assembled and lent. Five models of different types of playgrounds were constructed for exhibition at conventions and in local campaigns.

In the first year Dr. Gulick and Mr. Hanmer made 77 visits to other cities in response to requests for help in local campaigns.² They served as an informal employment exchange for playground workers. They carried most of the responsibility for the banquet in honor of Mrs. Humphry Ward, given under the auspices of the Playground Association in March, 1908, which effectively advertised the movement; and for the Association's Second Play Congress. The number of cities that had playgrounds increased from 90 in 1907 to 177 in 1908. Another year almost doubled the number again, bringing it to 336, and there was lively interest in many more cities and in some rural communities.

By the summer of 1909 the relations established throughout the country and the material in the field secretary's office constituted first-class equipment for carrying forward the campaign. By this time too the Playground Association was in position to engage an executive secretary³ and to look forward to providing

¹ At first the supply was scanty, consisting of reprints of a few articles and copies of a few reports. In May, 1908, the first pamphlets prepared for the Committee were published under the Foundation's imprint: *First Steps in Organizing Playgrounds*, by Lee F. Hanmer; and *The Field Day and Play Picnic for Country Children*, by Myron T. Scudder. In September, 1908, the Second Play Congress provided a number of useful papers for reprinting. Many contributions by Dr. Gulick, Mr. Hanmer, and other leaders appeared first in *The Playground* or in *Charities and the Commons*, and were reprinted by the Committee.

² "A sort of educational missionary for playgrounds," "an advance agent of civilization," Mr. Hanmer was called by a writer in the *New York Sun*, May 30, 1908.

³ Howard S. Braucher, who held the office until June, 1941, when he became president.

its own field staff in the near future. The Committee had accomplished its purpose of giving the playground movement a start and could confidently leave its future to the Association. The Foundation was beginning to extend its activities in the realm of recreation beyond playgrounds. Mr. Hanmer spent the summer studying public recreation in the cities of Europe.

In the two years that the Playground Extension Committee was in existence, the Foundation spent through it about \$60,000, most of which was used to strengthen the Playground Association. As an investment in helping a new movement get under way, so that it would "go on by its own momentum and win its own support,"¹ the effort was a signal success.

Discontinuance of the Committee on Playground Extension and establishment of the Division of Recreation in the Department of Child Hygiene did not end co-operation between the staffs of the Foundation and the Playground Association. They kept up close relations through all the succeeding years, working together on many undertakings, supplementing each other, and dividing the field by common agreement.

WIDER USE OF THE SCHOOL PLANT

The "playground extension" undertaken by the Foundation in 1907 was multiplication of playgrounds. In the spring of 1909, while still engaged primarily in promoting its original object, it embarked on another kind of extension. At the suggestion of Mr. Ayres² and on Dr. Gulick's recommendation, Clarence A. Perry was added to the staff as assistant to Mr. Hanmer, to find out to what extent school buildings and grounds were used outside of school hours, or might advantageously be used, for recreation and for other social and civic purposes. Mr. Perry began work on May 5, 1909.

Mr. Perry's report, entitled *Wider Use of the School Plant*, an illustrated book of 423 pages, was published about eighteen

¹ Quoted from Mr. de Forest's address at the banquet for Mrs. Humphry Ward.

² Secretary of the Foundation's Backward Children Investigation. Mr. Ayres had known Mr. Perry in Puerto Rico. He suggested the theme of inquiry as well as the person to make it.

months later.¹ The substance of the introductory chapter, giving a general view of the types of activities in operation, was printed in advance as a pamphlet, and several of the chapters on particular activities—public lectures, vacation schools, evening recreation centers, organized athletics, games and folk dancing—were preprinted or reprinted. The book was welcomed as a manual. Its author found himself at once in demand for information and advice on “wider use.”²

This pioneer study was the foundation of continuing work in the promotion of community centers. In addition to addresses, personal conferences, and magazine articles, a scenario was prepared for a motion picture (*Charlie's Reform*), and publications were issued that gave help on such practical problems as how to go about establishing social centers, activities and equipment, record forms, modifications of school laws, architectural plans, and reports from time to time on the status of the movement.

CELEBRATIONS AND PAGEANTS

For some years there had been scattered efforts to make the public realize the disastrous consequences of current methods of celebrating the Fourth of July, but not much headway had been made in practice. Only four cities had “sane” celebrations in 1908.

In May, 1909, the Playground Association, in connection with its Third Annual Congress, held a conference of municipal representatives to discuss what could be done. Mr. Ayres acted as secretary. It was the sense of the meeting that the Playground Association should prepare and distribute programs for civic celebrations, not only of Independence Day but also of other public holidays.

The Playground Extension Committee of the Foundation was still acting as an arm of the Association. It published the proceedings of this conference, together with suggestions for a pro-

¹ After three printings this book was allowed to go out of print in 1916 because pamphlets by Mr. Perry had been issued or were in preparation to take its place and keep up with the rapid developments.

² In addition to numerous scattered engagements, he made a tour in the fall of 1911 of 21 cities where his help was desired.

gram by Elizabeth Burchenal,¹ in a pamphlet called *A Safer, Saner Fourth of July, with More Patriotism and Less Noise*. A rippling star-spangled banner, printed in color, waved on the white cover. For three years the Recreation Division carried forward vigorously the campaign for "A Safe and Sane Fourth": stimulating the adoption and enforcement of local ordinances regulating the manufacture, sale, and use of explosives; collecting and distributing programs of "new-style" celebrations; writing magazine articles and making public addresses as occasion offered. Mr. Perry wrote a scenario for a motion picture, which was produced by Thomas Edison, Inc., and released early in June, 1911.

By 1912 the number of cities celebrating on improved plans had increased to 258. The number of deaths and serious injuries reported in the country had decreased from 5,307 in 1909 to 988. To the publications previously issued a useful pamphlet was added this year on *Celebration of the Fourth of July by Means of Pageantry*, written by William Chauncy Langdon, and containing also an article and notes by Arthur Farwell on suitable music for the occasion. A final collection of suggestions by Mr. Hanmer in 1913 brought to an end the period of active propaganda by the Foundation. Responsibility for whatever further attention might be needed was transferred to the Playground Association.²

Suggestions for May Day celebrations, prepared for the Recreation Division by Miss Burchenal, were published in 1910. The Division had in mind following this with programs for other national holidays. An "All-Together Labor Day" was on the agenda for the year 1911-1912. Apparently these projects were not carried out.

Mr. Langdon's contribution to the library of programs for the Fourth of July was incidental to an association with the Foundation extending over two years. In January, 1911, the Trustees

¹ Inspector of athletics for girls in the New York public schools.

² In later years the work was sponsored jointly by the National Recreation Association (formerly Playground Association of America), the National Safety Council, the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, and the Association of Pyrotechnic Industries.

made a small appropriation to enable him to demonstrate his ideas of the possibilities of the pageant in developing civic and social spirit. His demonstration in Thetford, Vermont, was a great success both as an artistic production and in bringing the entire population of the town together in harmonious utilization of community resources. In 1912 he wrote and produced the notable pageant of St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and assisted in the Philadelphia Historical Pageant. During these two years Mr. Langdon acted for the Recreation Division as a consulting expert on pageantry, advising on plans in more than 20 places. By the fall of 1912 he had an established reputation as consultant and pageant-master and had a book on the subject in manuscript.

SCHOOL ATHLETICS

Athletics had not yet won general acceptance as a feature of the school program. Dr. Gulick and Mr. Hanmer, from their pioneering experience in this field in the public schools of New York City, brought with them an enthusiasm for the potential educational value of school athletics as well as for their recreational value. To promote acceptance of this idea and higher standards in school athletics the Division of Recreation encouraged the formation of public school athletic leagues and the adoption of types of contest favored by the leagues.

The Public School Athletic League of Greater New York had been devised in 1903.¹ Its object was to encourage participation by all the boys, to promote all-round physical development, "to foster clean sport between gentlemen." To attain these ends, "class athletics" and "athletic badge tests" were the forms of competition especially favored. They enlist the participation of all; they tend to promote class and school spirit; and they avoid the dangers associated with individual rivalry.

¹ By Dr. Gulick, with collaboration from Superintendent Maxwell and James E. Sullivan, secretary of the Amateur Athletic Union. At that time athletics in the schools were in the hands of the boys themselves. They were limited to competitive events, and were usually dominated by a few of the older and stronger boys, who were not always in good standing in other respects and were presumably least in need of athletic training. The League was incorporated by prominent citizens and school officials.

In class athletics every member of the class takes part and the class record is the average of the records of individual performance. The athletic badge test sets standards of proficiency not beyond the ability of the average boy in the group to attain. Every boy who brings himself up to the prescribed standards wins a badge, provided he is doing satisfactory work in school. He does not have to defeat someone in order to win and he has the satisfaction of seeing his own progress and achievement.

Through its own resources and by co-operation with public school athletic leagues, the Playground Association, the Athletic Research Society, the Amateur Athletic Union, and other organizations, the Recreation Division, and later the Department, aided in developing programs for group athletics, working out standards for athletic badge tests for boys and for girls, in elementary schools and in high schools, and furthering higher ideals of sportsmanship and "athletic courtesy" among them.

FOLK DANCING

Dr. Gulick was one of the early enthusiasts for folk dances as an element in programs of recreation and physical training. As president of the Playground Association and as director of the Department of Child Hygiene of Russell Sage Foundation, as well as in his teaching at New York University, he made good use of his opportunities to spread his enthusiasm. At the Play Congress in New York City in 1908 a feature of the program was an exhibition of folk and national dances from 11 nations, the folk dances presented by children from playgrounds in "foreign" neighborhoods, the national dances by adults who for the most part were themselves immigrants.

In April of the following year the Association's committee on folk dancing, of which Miss Burchenal was chairman, made its report, which included a list of folk dances that had been found "successful and well loved," and classified them as to their suitability for different kinds of playgrounds, for different ages, and for special occasions. The Foundation reprinted and distributed

such material as this report and papers by Dr. Gulick.¹ It also sponsored an experiment that had far-reaching results. Arrangements were made with a manufacturer of music for hurdy-gurdies to produce one roll of folk dances as a trial, and an organ-grinder was hired by the day (he was too skeptical to try it at his own risk) to use it on his machine. The first day he appeared on the streets he drew such crowds that they interfered with traffic. His receipts increased. Orders began to come to the manufacturer from owners of other machines. Soon the new music was in use from coast to coast.

COMMERCIAL RECREATION

As a corollary to extension of public facilities attention was given to improvement in commercial recreation. A small beginning was made in the summer of 1910. The Committee on Amusements and Vacation Resources for Working Girls in New York City was receiving requests for advice from other cities, but it could not use its money for work outside New York. A very small appropriation by the Foundation made it possible for the Committee to help projects in 12 cities, including the organization of a dance-hall committee, with an expert investigator, in Philadelphia.

The following year a study of commercial recreation in New York City by Michael M. Davis, Jr., based on material gathered in preparation for the Child Welfare Exhibit of 1911, was published by the Foundation as one of its pamphlets under the title *The Exploitation of Pleasure*.

From 1911 Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry were members of the General Committee of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, the voluntary body exercising an unofficial censorship over the greater part of the films produced in the United States. Both served as chairmen of committees that required continuous and exacting attention. This was the beginning of their participa-

¹ Dr. Gulick's book, *The Healthful Art of Dancing*, was published by Doubleday, Page and Co. in 1910. In 1916, when no longer connected with the Foundation, he was instrumental in organizing the American Folk Dance Society, of which Miss Burchenal was the first president. It was under his urging that Miss Burchenal had published in 1910 the first of her series of books containing music and full directions for folk dances.

tion in the improvement of commercial motion pictures, which extended throughout their active professional lives and was exercised in many ways, through both national and local agencies.

AN OBJECT LESSON

At the request of Mrs. Sage, in 1911 Mr. Hanmer undertook supervision of a park and playground provided by her for the village of Sag Harbor, Long Island, where she had her summer home. This offered an opportunity to develop an object lesson for other small communities. A trained recreation director was employed. Within a year a comprehensive program was in operation, appealing to all ages and all tastes. The indoor activities of the first winter enrolled about 20 per cent of the entire population. General oversight was continued by Mr. Hanmer to the end of the decade, with special reference to developing volunteer service and community responsibility for the enterprise.

ASSISTANCE IN LEGISLATION

In bringing about legislative changes to facilitate establishment of playgrounds and use of school property for new purposes, assistance was given in many places, beginning with Massachusetts in 1909. For the most part help was in the form of advice and material that would be useful to local campaigners. The New Jersey Playground Law of 1908 was reprinted for distribution. A digest of state laws and typical local ordinances was published in 1911 and revised at intervals thereafter to keep up with the expansion in number of laws and diversity as to scope. Hardly a law relating to recreation was passed in the early years on which Mr. Hanmer and his associates were not consulted.

On at least two occasions a more active part was taken. Assistance was given to the Washington Playground Association in 1909 to prevent a threatened cut from \$22,000 to \$8,000 in the congressional appropriation for the playgrounds of the District of Columbia. The campaign was successful. Several years later an amendment to the New York State School Laws was prepared, providing for "wider use" of school property. The support of the

State Department of Education was enlisted, which presented the bill as its own. It became law on April 7, 1913. This was "the most progressive measure of its kind" that had yet been adopted, and it was useful in many other states. In the campaign for enabling legislation to spread "wider use" throughout the country help was obtained from the General Federation of Women's Clubs and other national organizations.

ORGANIZING AND ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES

Both Dr. Gulick and Mr. Hanmer had a gift for getting organizations started, keeping them active, and helping them through difficulties. Examples have already been mentioned. In 1910 they had an important part in launching the Boy Scouts of America. Mr. Hanmer gave a substantial part of his time to it for over a year, acting as its first secretary until he persuaded James E. West to take the position of chief executive. He helped organize the New York Council of Boy Scouts, serving as its chairman in 1914, and was always ready through the following years to spend time and thought on its problems, particularly in an emergency of any sort. Dr. Gulick spent a large part of his last year with the Foundation in organizing the Camp Fire Girls. Mr. Perry was in at the start of all the organizations connected with social centers and his other special interests. He attended the First National Conference on Civic and Social Center Development, held at the University of Wisconsin in October, 1911. He helped establish the National Conference on Community Centers and the New York Council of Community Centers.

Continuous attention was given, from 1909 on, to efforts for a more comprehensive program and a co-ordinated administration of public recreation in New York City. To support such efforts, among other reasons, Dr. Gulick and Mr. Hanmer early began negotiations for organizing interested private agencies in a body that could represent informed public opinion at hearings and in other ways. The Recreation Alliance, a federation of 25 agencies, formed in May, 1911, was the outcome. For extended periods at different times Mr. Hanmer or a member of his staff acted as

executive secretary of the Alliance. It soon brought about the creation of a semi-official commission, which, however, was hopelessly handicapped by lack of funds and the attitude of some of the city departments, and was succeeded in October, 1915, by a Committee on Recreation of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. Through this committee administration of the city's recreation facilities was systematized under the dual control of the School Board and the borough Park Departments and many other improvements were brought about: for example, reorganization of the recreation centers in the schools as community centers, with broader programs and with neighborhood participation in management and support; opening of schoolyards for play after school; adoption of up-to-date standards for qualifications of playground directors and play leaders, including a practical demonstration of ability as a feature in their examination. In all these developments Mr. Hanmer and his associates had a leading part, individually and through the Recreation Alliance.

By 1914 the pressure of committee work had become a serious concern. It was interfering with research and publication. In the year 1913-1914 Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry attended 172 committee meetings in connection with work of the Recreation Alliance and its members alone. There was some apprehension, too, that it might expose the Foundation to the charge of wishing to "run things." Both Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry accordingly began to withdraw from positions involving organizing and administrative functions. They continued their relations with organizations for which they felt special responsibility and which needed special help. Occasions for help in "emergencies" or "crises" or for special purposes were not infrequent.

SURVEYS

It was fortunate that the cutting down of committee obligations began when it did, and that the necessity for miscellaneous visits to other cities had become less urgent than formerly, now that the Playground and Recreation Association had developed its field department and the number of persons around the coun-

try who were competent to advise on matters of recreation had increased. For the next two years the Department of Recreation was occupied largely in comprehensive general surveys of community facilities for recreation.

Before this the Department had made special studies of recreation centers in New York City and in Newark. It had frequently advised on particular problems in a large number of cities. Some study had been made of the problems of several rural communities. In a sense a continuing survey was kept up of provisions in New York City, though it was not called by that name, through relations with the Recreation Alliance and city officials.

The Department's first comprehensive survey of a city's recreation needs and resources and of practical means for using its resources to meet its needs was made in Springfield, Illinois, by Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry in 1914 and was published in November of that year, under the title *Recreation in Springfield, Illinois*. It was part of a general social survey of the city conducted by the Foundation's Department of Surveys and Exhibits.¹ Field work, help on the survey exhibit, and preparation of the report constituted the major item in the Department's program for the year. While specific recommendations were made to fit conditions in Springfield, the proposed "recreation program for the future" was outlined in such a way as to be useful to any city of medium size.

On the heels of the Springfield Survey came one in Ipswich, Massachusetts, made by Howard R. Knight of the Department's staff on invitation of the Ipswich School Board in November, 1914. Mr. Knight presented his report at an open meeting of the School Board, and it was published *in extenso* early in 1915 under the title *Play and Recreation in a Town of 6,000*. While the original purpose was to determine what the schools could do, particularly for the school children, the study covered all the recreation facilities available for persons of all ages, and the recommendations outlined a comprehensive plan for the whole community. As in the case of Springfield it was believed that the "recreation program for the future" submitted for Ipswich

¹ See p. 186.

would be applicable also to other places of approximately the same size.

In the fall of 1915 Mr. Perry participated in the exhaustive Cleveland Education Survey, in progress under the direction of Leonard P. Ayres. His report,¹ published in 1916, argued for including community-center activities among the regular obligations of a municipal school system, and gave a concrete presentation of activities that had proved their value, with discussion of practical problems involved. It was as pertinent for other cities as for Cleveland.

Mr. Hanmer had responsibility for the section on physical training, play, athletics, and evening recreation in the survey of the public schools of Gary, Indiana, conducted by the General Education Board in 1916. His report, like the reports of other sections of the Survey, was published by the General Education Board.

OTHER STUDIES: 1914-1917

In addition to the reports of surveys, several other substantial publications were issued in the years immediately following the decision to limit engagements that interfered with study and writing.

The classified and annotated bibliography on recreation, first published in 1912, was revised and enlarged in 1914 and again in 1915. Mr. Perry contributed chapters on the high school as a social center to two books edited by leading educators. He prepared monographs for the United States Bureau of Education and contributed a chapter to the Commissioner's annual report. He prepared also a handbook on activities suitable for recreation centers,² and a smaller pamphlet of practical suggestions for organizing or promoting school centers,³ which incorporated material, thoroughly revised, from earlier publications no longer

¹ Educational Extension, one of the Cleveland Education Survey Monographs, published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation and listed also as pamphlet publications of the Division of Education of Russell Sage Foundation.

² Community Center Activities. 1917.

³ First Steps in Community Center Development. 1917.

in print. Both these pamphlets were published by the Foundation not long before the United States entered the war.

FORMAL INSTRUCTION

Probably the most valuable teaching by members of the Department of Recreation was done through personal conference and correspondence. Every address involved interviews and led to correspondence. Publications brought letters and visitors. It was estimated in 1917 that the number of personal letters written since 1907 had averaged 4,000 a year and that at least one-fourth of the time Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry spent in the office had been given to discussing recreation problems with individuals. The proportion for Dr. Gulick during his years with the Foundation may easily have been higher.

More formal instruction also at times had a place in the program. Dr. Gulick in 1905, before the Foundation was in existence, had organized the summer school of physical education at New York University, which he continued to conduct until 1909. In 1912 Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry, assisted by William R. Harper, instructor in the Brooklyn Training School for Teachers, gave three courses in the University Summer School. The Department (at that time Division) in 1910-1911 conducted the first Playground Institutes of the Playground Association and it assisted in later ones. It helped plan and conduct the Recreation Institute held in February, 1914, by the New York School of Philanthropy. In 1915-1916 Mr. Perry helped in organizing the New York Training School for Community Workers, established on the initiative of the People's Institute.

Through a committee of alumni of Cornell University, of which Mr. Hanmer was secretary and Mr. Perry also a member, a course on citizenship was introduced at the University in 1913. The object of the course (for which Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry made the arrangements each year) was to acquaint the students with the leading kinds of social and civic work through lectures by persons engaged in them. It was highly appreciated

both by students and by the president of the University, and was continued until interrupted by the World War.

SUSPENSION OF NORMAL ACTIVITIES

Mr. Hanmer was appointed a member of the Commission on Training Camp Activities created by the War Department in April, 1917, and immediately became involved in heavy responsibilities for the recreational aspects of its work. Normal activities of the Department of Recreation were set aside, not to be resumed until the period of demobilization was over. By the end of the summer of 1917 its entire personnel was engaged in one way or another in work directly connected with the war.



*Architectural detail from the north façade,
Russell Sage Foundation Building*

VII

EDUCATION: 1907-1917

THE FOUNDATION'S studies in the problems of elementary schools, which began in November, 1907, simultaneously with the propaganda for playgrounds, went on as one of the co-ordinate divisions of the Department of Child Hygiene and then, from January, 1913, as an independent division. They were carried on by Leonard P. Ayres, under the general supervision, for the first few years, of Dr. Gulick.

SCOPE, AIM, METHODS

From the beginning the object of these studies was "to discover facts, develop methods, and formulate procedures" that would "aid educators to substitute knowledge for opinion, and to base action on evidence rather than on tradition or speculation." The development of yardsticks for measuring problems and progress in elementary education was their distinctive contribution. After several years of studying problems one at a time, the tools of "scientific measurement" that had been devised were applied to evaluating school systems in comprehensive "surveys."

A controlling principle was that no study was finished until the results had been put to practical use. As soon as there was anything significant to report, it was reported to the persons for whom it would have most significance, through the channels most likely to reach them. Articles in educational journals, addresses at conferences of educators, and monographs were the characteristic forms of publication. Membership on committees, personal consultation, and formal instruction in universities, were supplementary methods of putting research to use.

In making public the results of investigations, said Mr. Ayres at the end of ten years, "the object has been to present reports so accurately that they could not be successfully challenged, so clearly that they could not be misunderstood, and so convincingly

that they could not be disregarded." These ends, he added, "have not been uniformly attained."

BACKWARD CHILDREN

Mr. Ayres began his study of backward children by analyzing the school records of all the pupils in 15 elementary schools of Manhattan. His report¹ was submitted to Superintendent Maxwell on September 20, 1908, who called it "the first scientific inquiry into the causes of retardation." Next, the available data on the physical examinations of these children were correlated with their school records, to discover the relation of physical defect to progress through school.² To supplement these intensive local studies, information was gathered from other large American cities, and everything in print that could be found was examined. On the basis of all this material in 1909 Mr. Ayres wrote his book called *Laggards in Our Schools*, which answered questions that many persons were asking. Three reprintings—two in 1910 and one in 1913—brought to 4,000 the number of copies issued.

From these studies it appeared that age at entering school and "the old-fashioned virtue" of regularity of attendance were leading factors in progress; that relatively few children had physical defects so serious as to preclude success in school or in life; that in most cities the courses of study and the methods of teaching were better adapted to the bright child than to the child of average ability, and better adapted to girls than to boys; that the more important causes of retardation were removable; and that some cities had in operation effective measures for removing them.

PROGRESS THROUGH THE GRADES

The summer of 1909 was spent in analyzing the records of the 16,000 children who had just been graduated in June from the

¹ Published in the Tenth Annual Report of the City Superintendent of Schools, and reprinted by the Foundation.

² At first the investigators were astonished to find that on the whole retarded children had fewer physical defects than their schoolmates who were of normal age for their grades. Looking for an explanation, they discovered that most of the defects recorded were of a kind that tend to decrease in prevalence as children grow older. Later studies, taking age into account, measured mathematically the retarding effect of each of the more common physical defects. The report was published in the Eleventh Annual Report of the City Superintendent of Schools, and reprinted by the Foundation.

eighth grade of the public schools of New York City, with a view to discovering influences that had helped or hindered them on their progress through the grades.¹ More light was shed on this subject by an extensive investigation in 1911. An "age-and-progress card" was printed, for recording not only the age and grade of the child but also the number of years he had attended school. Superintendents in 29 cities supplied records on these cards for all the pupils in their elementary schools, a total of 206,495 children. Among these children about as many were "over-age" as "slow" but the two groups were by no means identical. For normal progress through the grades and for finishing the eighth grade at the normal age, the age of six seemed on the whole to be the most favorable time to start school. Results were presented in four articles in educational journals in December, 1911, and January, 1912, which were preprinted or reprinted and widely distributed. They included practical suggestions to school administrators for "identifying, locating, and enumerating" the "misfit" children in their schools, tracking down the causes and estimating the cost of the "misfits," and judging the progress made in their schools in these respects from year to year. Mr. Ayres also contributed four chapters to a monograph on Provisions for Exceptional Children in the Public Schools, issued by the United States Bureau of Education late in 1911.

A supplementary study early in 1913 of promotion rates and promotion systems, described as "an excursion into educational engineering," showed that "a change of even one per cent either up or down" in the rate of promotion "is reflected by great and far reaching consequences in terms of dollars, teachers, plant, equipment, and children's time," and, "most important of all, on the degree to which the children are trained in habits of success and failure."²

HEALTH AND SAFETY IN SCHOOLS

In studying the relation of physical defects to progress in school, Dr. Gulick and Mr. Ayres gathered information about

¹ This study was made at the request of the school officials. A full report was presented to Superintendent Maxwell in the fall. It was not published.

² Results were published in the American School Board Journal, May, 1913.

medical supervision of the health of school children. This was a new movement in America.¹ There was a lively interest in it, but little was known about its methods, history, or value. It seemed almost incumbent on them, after they had collected the information, to make it available to the public. The resulting book, *Medical Inspection of Schools*, by Dr. Gulick and Mr. Ayres, the first one on the Foundation's list that was produced by its own staff, was published in October, 1908, eight months before *Laggards in Our Schools*. The first printing was exhausted in three months. A revised edition was issued in 1913. In all about 5,000 copies were sold.

Another topic related to the health of school children that was attracting interest at this time was open-air schools. Except for scattered reports there was little material about it in print. Mr. Ayres collected information about the experiments that had been made in schools in America and abroad for children exposed to tuberculosis at home or undernourished and anemic, and in July, 1910, appeared his book on *Open-Air Schools*.² A Japanese translation was published in 1913 under the auspices of the educational authorities of Japan.

Steady demand for copies of an address on open-air schools made by Mr. Ayres in 1910 led the Division to publish in 1913 a pamphlet by that name describing, largely by pictures, the growth of the movement and the methods used. Also in 1913, taking advantage of public excitement over a disastrous school fire in Cleveland, the Division issued a pamphlet similar in style, *Fire Protection in Public Schools*, showing dangerous conditions that were common and how they might be corrected.

So many requests were received for aid in formulating laws on medical inspection that a monograph was published in June, 1911, containing the laws and regulations of each state as of May, 1911, together with a tabular presentation of principal features and a summary of the provisions that should be included.

¹ The first American system was inaugurated in Boston in 1894. In 1908 plans were in operation in only 70 cities outside of Massachusetts.

² Doubleday, Page and Co., New York. This book was given to a commercial publisher as an experiment, to see whether it would be more widely distributed than through the Foundation.

A chapter on "Medical Inspection" was contributed by Mr. Ayres to the New Encyclopedia of Education.

At the same time information was sought from all cities that had organized systems of graded schools about actual practices in medical inspection and in other provisions for health. Ninety per cent of the cities sent the information asked for. In the report¹ statistical summaries were supplemented by a tabular presentation of the facts for each city, which made it easy to see how any city stood, both absolutely and by comparison with others. This publication, said Mr. Ayres, had "an unexpected success" which "revealed to us a new and apparently most potent method of propagandic work."

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

As a contribution in the field of industrial education, certain facts were collected in the closing weeks of the school year 1912-1913 about all the thirteen-year-old boys (22,000) in the public schools of 78 cities. Half of them were in the sixth grade or below, which suggested that at least this half needed further "common school" education before they would be prepared to take special training for a vocation. The small proportion of their fathers who were living in the cities where they had been born, and the relatively large number engaged in "mental" work and in retail trade, raised questions as to the validity of some current assumptions about occupations for which children should be trained.²

A supplementary study analyzed the occupational data published by the Twelfth Census for cities of more than 50,000 population, to discover which occupations were in general demand everywhere and which were relatively limited in distribution. The results³ suggested the relative importance of the former, called "constant," in plans for vocational education, in comparison with the others, called "variable."

¹ What American Cities Are Doing for the Health of School Children: Report covering conditions in 1,038 cities. 1911.

² Some Conditions Affecting Problems of Industrial Education in 78 American School Systems. 1914.

³ Constant and Variable Occupations and Their Bearing on Problems of Vocational Education. 1914.

Still another study in this field¹ was prompted by the popular contention that industrial education in the United States should be modeled on the German system. In the trades studied the average wage of Americans was found to be three times that of Germans, their purchasing power more than twice as great; and the advantage of skill, as indicated by the difference between the wages of skilled and unskilled labor, had increased rapidly in recent years in America, while in Germany the trend had been downward. The method employed in this study for measuring the value of skill gave a useful tool to students of problems in vocational education.

A LEGISLATIVE INTERLUDE

Direct effort to influence legislation was not a part of the Division's program, but in 1910 it made an exception on behalf of the United States Bureau of Education. The Bureau was asking an addition of \$75,000 to its appropriation for the next fiscal year, to support a field staff of ten consulting specialists.

The Trustees of the Foundation allocated an additional \$5,000 to the Division of Education to meet the extra expense of a campaign, which was carried on vigorously by Dr. Gulick and Mr. Ayres, in co-operation with other educational agencies, over a year or more. The tangible result was an increase of \$7,600 in the appropriation for the Bureau for the following year, for the employment of three of the proposed consultants, and the retaining of \$2,400 for an item that otherwise would have been cut out. More important were the intangible results of a more friendly and intelligent attitude toward the Bureau on the part of Congress and educators.

TESTS AND MEASUREMENTS

By 1911 the graded tests devised by Binet and Simon for measuring the "intelligence" of French school children had been widely adopted in America. In many schools they were applied without discrimination. Children were labeled "backward," even

¹ "Wage Value of Skill—Germany and the United States," by R. R. Lutz, in *American School Board Journal*, September, 1914.

"feeble-minded" or "imbecile," on the basis of these tests alone. A critical examination of the tests as used in American schools, with practical suggestions, was contributed by Mr. Ayres to the November 15, 1911, issue of *The Psychological Clinic*. A reprinting of 1,600 copies was exhausted within the month, and three more editions within a year. Early in 1913 a brief survey was made of the application of psychological tests to vocational guidance. The conclusion was reached that the tests in use were of help in choosing persons for positions but did not go far in helping individuals choose occupations.

In 1911 the Division began its work in constructing scales for measuring the quality of children's performance in certain studies. Handwriting was the first subject undertaken. Edward L. Thorndike of Columbia University had published his pioneer handwriting scale the preceding year. His grading was on the basis of "general merit." Mr. Ayres took legibility for his criterion, and determined degree of legibility by time required to read a given amount of the writing. His scale¹ was based on accurately timed readings of samples of writing by children in the upper elementary grades of 40 school systems in 38 states. Samples in eight ascending grades of legibility were reproduced. To grade a pupil's writing it would be compared with the samples reproduced on the scale, and marked with the grade of the sample it came nearest to matching.

In the next five years the handwriting scale was reprinted many times, with minor changes, and over 60,000 copies were sold. In 1917 it was made over with improvements designed to reduce variability in results. For this edition passages from Lincoln's Gettysburg address were used as copy for the samples of writing.

At the request of the Municipal Civil Service Commission of New York City, a scale for grading the handwriting of adults was prepared in 1914, on the same principles as the scale for children. It was designed to aid examiners and school superintendents in testing candidates for appointment or promotion. In comparison with the children's scales this one had only a limited sale.

¹ Scale for Measuring the Quality of Writing of School Children. 1912.

Spelling was the second acquirement for which a measuring instrument was sought. On the basis of several studies, a list of "the 1,000 commonest words" was compiled. Relative difficulty of the words was determined by trying them on 70,000 children in 84 cities. The 1,000 words were then arranged in 26 columns, each column containing words that had been found to be approximately equal in difficulty. At the top of each column was indicated the average success in spelling the words in that column by children in the different grades of school. By means of this scale¹ it was possible to rate the spelling ability of a child or of a class. The 1,000 words, moreover, provided material for spelling books that were more practical than many in common use.

It was recognized that these scales, like other measuring instruments, fell short of insuring exact and uniform results, but they made possible "more exact and more uniform decisions than can be arrived at without measuring." Both the spelling scale and the "Gettysburg edition" of the handwriting scale are still (1946) on the active list of the Foundation's publications.

Following the success of the monograph on what cities were doing for the health of school children the same method was used to provide a measuring instrument of a sort for state school systems.² This monograph was a mirror in which each state could see how it stood, absolutely and in comparison with the other 47 states, with respect to the important features of its school system. By way of summary, a table on the inside back cover showed the approximate rank of each state in each of "ten tests of efficiency," arranging the states according to their "general rank" in all ten. A copy was sent to each member of the 42 state legislatures meeting that winter, and the next year to the legislators of the other six states. It was one of the most effective publications of the Division. For some months letters about it averaged over a hundred a day. It attracted a great deal of newspaper and magazine comment. There was evidence that over 200 bills considered by the legislatures were inspired by it

¹ Measuring Scale for Ability in Spelling. 1915.

² Comparative Study of Public School Systems in the Forty-Eight States. 1912.

wholly or in part, and that it was a factor in increases of appropriations amounting to many millions of dollars.

SCHOOL SURVEYS

From 1912 to 1917 participation in school surveys was a major activity of the Division of Education. Frequently with the assistance of members of his staff, Mr. Ayres conducted or took part in 13, and had to decline many more invitations than he could accept. In one year, 1914-1915, requests were received to take charge of 24. The survey, combining as it did research and the solving of practical problems, was considered a particularly favorable vehicle for the double purpose of discovering truth and disseminating it.

The Division's first survey was made in Greenwich, Connecticut, in the spring of 1912, on invitation from the educational authorities and a citizens' committee. It included examination of the physical plant, financial support and expenditure, the system of taxation, as well as studies of attendance, school progress, and records of physical examinations of the children. Following the survey, an educational exhibit was held for a week in one of the schools. Aggregate attendance was about equivalent to the total population of the town. After the exhibit an illustrated book presenting the leading facts was sent to every parent, taxpayer, and voter. At the town meeting four months later a bond issue of \$250,000 was voted for construction of new buildings. A citizens' association was organized to work continuously for improvement of the public schools.

A few months later the Division undertook the financial section of a survey in Bridgeport, Connecticut. On the basis of the report the citizens obtained state legislation empowering the city to issue bonds in the amount of \$200,000 for the improvement of conditions in the schools.

In 1914 the Educational Section of the Springfield (Illinois) Survey engaged Mr. Ayres and his staff for three months. It utilized all the methods that had been devised in preceding years for judging efficiency and some new ones. The report, entitled Public Schools of Springfield, Illinois, was written in the simplest,

most direct language, and illustrated with many photographs and diagrams. It was a comprehensive review of all aspects of the school system—board, buildings, teachers, curriculum, medical inspection, finances, extension activities, and educational results.

Most elaborate of all was the Cleveland Education Survey, undertaken by Mr. Ayres early in 1915 on invitation of the Cleveland Foundation.¹ For more than a year it occupied the greater part of the time of the director of the Division and several members of his staff. Mr. Perry, from the Foundation's Department of Recreation, and Mr. Clark, from its Division of Statistics, were borrowed to take charge of sections of the work. Twelve outstanding authorities from other institutions brought the staff to a total of 22 specialists, besides clerical, editorial, and drafting assistants. All expenses were met by the Cleveland Foundation.²

In the course of the Cleveland study advances were made in methods for testing ability in handwriting, spelling, arithmetic, and reading; new educational methods were developed and new principles established; an "actuarial basis" for programs of vocational education was outlined; but the feature in which the director took most satisfaction was the success achieved in "carrying the community." Preliminary drafts of the reports were sent to local officials concerned and their criticisms and suggestions were discussed in joint meetings "at great length and in great detail." As a result of these conferences some reports were rewritten as many as five times. When printed, each report was given to the newspapers and submitted to the citizens at a public luncheon in one of the leading hotels. Attendance at these luncheons grew, discussions were lively, and the papers gave an increasing amount of space to them. By this method a picture of the entire school system was placed before the citizens and the significance of each element of the picture was made clear.

¹ This was one of a series of surveys by the Cleveland Foundation of conditions, problems, and needs of the city.

² The report was published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation in 25 small cloth-bound volumes, each one complete in itself, "comparable to the sectional unit idea in office furniture." In size they ranged from 59 to 363 pages and aggregated over 3,300 pages. Eleven of the 25 were written by members of the Russell Sage Foundation staff, and the series was listed among the pamphlets of the Division of Education.

Several other surveys, either smaller in scope or involving less responsibility, entered into the program of the Division in 1914, 1915, and 1916. The director was chairman of a joint committee in charge of a survey of industrial education in Richmond, begun in the spring of 1914. He served on the committee that conducted a survey of industrial education in Minneapolis in 1915. In 1915-1916 he gave time to consultation on the school survey of St. Louis, directed by Charles H. Judd, and on the survey of the Gary (Indiana) schools, directed by Abraham Flexner for the General Education Board. He had charge of individual studies of two private schools in Cleveland and one public school in a village in the Cleveland area. Under his general direction, Mr. Clark of the Division of Statistics and Mr. Richardson of the Division of Education prepared two sections of the financial survey of Boston schools made for the Boston Finance Commission in 1915-1916. All the surveys carried on under the direction of Mr. Ayres while the Cleveland Survey was in progress or subsequently made use of methods—and frequently also of specialists—employed in the Cleveland study.

REVIEW: 1907-1917

When the United States entered the war in April, 1917, the educational studies of the Foundation had been in progress nearly a decade. Results of these studies had been published in books, pamphlets, and magazine articles. They were the basis for addresses, for service on committees, for advice to individuals, and for formal courses of instruction in the summer sessions of several universities¹ and at the New York School of Philanthropy.² Public addresses aggregated 453, ranging from 17 in the first year to 70 in 1911-1912. The total number of articles published was 148, and the meetings of educational associations attended amounted to 189, an average of 19 a year. Requests for advice and information grew steadily until it became a serious problem to reply to them and still have time for research. Important

¹ New York University, 1912; University of Illinois and University of Colorado, 1913; University of Colorado and Columbia University, 1914.

² In the winter of 1916-1917.

requests increased from about 30 in the first year to 300 in the tenth.

During this period 1907-1917 great progress was made in the educational problems that had engaged the attention of the Division. Many thousands of children finished the eighth grade in 1917, and finished it "on time," who in 1907 would have taken longer or would have dropped out by the way. Medical oversight of school children had become more general and better. Open-air schools were common, better ventilation was provided for all children, and general sanitary conditions in schools were improved. The schools were beginning to make special provisions for children of exceptional ability as well as for backward children. Vocational education and vocational guidance were acquiring a "fact-basis" for their procedures. Application of scientific methods to educational problems had won respect and many practicing disciples.¹ An effective instrument for advance had been developed in the comprehensive school survey.

To these improvements the Division of Education had contributed through its discoveries, through collecting scattered information and making it available, through developing methods of procedure and stimulating their use.

INTERRUPTION, APRIL, 1917

Before the end of April, 1917, Mr. Ayres was at work in Washington as chief of the division of statistics of the Council of National Defense. He took with him the staff of the Division of Education as well as that of the Division of Statistics. Both divisions remained inactive until the fall of 1919.

¹ A National Association of Directors of Educational Research, affiliated with the National Education Association, was formed in 1916. Mr. Ayres was a charter member.

VIII

CHILD HYGIENE: 1909-1912

DURING its brief existence the so-called Department of Child Hygiene, the third department created, embraced the work in Recreation and in Education and also Dr. Gulick's miscellaneous activities, which were chiefly related to health—health of adults as well as of children.¹ Dr. Gulick's contributions to the Divisions of Recreation and Education are covered in the preceding pages. This chapter reviews the other work of the Department, the special activities of the director.

Dr. Gulick was a brilliant man of many ideas, of great enthusiasm and persuasive ability. His proposals for new undertakings crowded one another faster than they could be realized. He was in demand as a speaker and a writer and as chairman of executive boards and organizing committees. He was interested in research for its practical value in showing what to do and how to do it, and was keen to see its results translated into procedures and habits. "Bridging the gap between knowing and doing" was one of his chief aims.

Soon after the Department was established, Dr. Gulick suggested issuing a quarterly journal of Child Hygiene. A few months later he proposed creating a Division of Public Health or of Health Education in the Department. Through this winter of 1909-1910 he gave generous help to the Public Health Education Committee of the American Medical Association.² When in the spring the Committee was shaping up its report, the Foundation

¹ In November, 1908, a year before the Department of Child Hygiene was organized, Dr. Gulick had proposed that the Foundation look into the instruction in hygiene available to the general population, adults as well as children, prepare syllabi for courses adapted to different groups, and carry on a campaign to get the courses adopted.

² A committee of women members of the Association (Dr. Rosalie Slaughter Morton, of New York City, chairman), appointed the previous summer to organize educational committees in the state medical associations, which would act through such agencies as women's clubs and mothers' associations to spread accurate information on the nature and prevention of disease.

made a small grant for expenses of preparation and printing, to be spent under Dr. Gulick's supervision.

In 1910 Dr. Gulick undertook the presidency of the American School Hygiene Association, which was "in a languishing condition" because of lack of money to do the kind of work that would attract "the right men."¹ He hoped he could put it on a better footing. During the year he obtained contributions from personal friends sufficient to publish the proceedings up to date. The three volumes were substantial evidence of the value of the Association's work and gave it a solid base from which to proceed. The emergency over, Dr. Gulick resigned from the presidency.

From May 1 to October 1, 1911, Dr. Gulick was on leave of absence from the Foundation because of illness. The ensuing year was a crowded one. He served on 18 committees,² 10 of which involved active work aside from attendance at meetings. He had responsibilities connected with 3 international congresses and several local (New York City) undertakings. He prepared 7 plans of major scope on varied topics for as many different agencies or groups. He made 52 public addresses, declined 55 invitations to speak; published 15 articles, declined 9 requests for articles or books.

As chairman of the Committee on Ventilation of the American School Hygiene Association (appointed through his influence) Dr. Gulick devoted a large amount of time to studies of the scientific material on ventilation, a subject in which he had become interested in connection with open-air schools. The Committee's studies and discussions strengthened its members in their belief that ventilation was of prime importance to health. They found that definite knowledge did not yet exist as to just what atmospheric conditions were most favorable for the schoolroom

¹ He had been secretary of the committee that organized the Association in 1907 and a member of its executive board ever since.

² The more important, in addition to those mentioned in the following pages, were committees of the Public School Athletic League, the Amateur Athletic Union, the American Olympic Games, Boy Scouts of America, State and Provincial Boards of Health, Academy of Physical Education, American Society for the Promotion of Efficiency, Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis of the Charity Organization Society of New York.

and for indoor work in general, and recommended laboratory research to settle specific questions. Dr. Gulick recorded several conclusions he personally had reached: that the air in which the body is bathed is as much of a factor in health as the air breathed into the lungs; that both the temperature and the circulation of air next the skin are of great importance; that the fundamental differences between a draft and a breeze, and their consequent differences in effects, were not appreciated as they should be.

Dr. Gulick was secretary of Section III, Hygiene of Infancy and Childhood, of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography. His duties in this position, involving executive responsibility for the program of the section, began in October, 1911, and continued through the meeting in Washington in September, 1912.¹ As a member of the American Executive Committee of the Second International Congress on Moral Education he participated in arrangements for publishing (August, 1912) the American contributions in a special volume; and as a member of the executive committee in charge of arrangements for the Fourth International Congress of School Hygiene, to be held in Buffalo in August, 1913, he shared the preliminary work that was in progress through 1912.

A local organization that engaged an appreciable amount of thought and time was the new Public Recreation Commission of the City of New York.² As chairman of its advisory board he worked persistently from December, 1911, but against insuperable obstacles, for the formulation by the Commission of plans that would be a basis for the development of a comprehensive recreation system for the city.

Another local undertaking ran smoothly to a quick conclusion. As chairman of a committee appointed by the Parks and Playground Association, he prepared a report that resulted in the transfer by the city of a tract of land adjoining the new buildings of the College of the City of New York from the Park Department to the College, for use as the site for a stadium. Still another of

¹ The program of his section included papers from 38 American and 13 foreign contributors.

² See p. 79. Several years earlier Dr. Gulick had been a leader in efforts, unsuccessful at the time, to bring about the creation of such a body.

his active local interests was the New York Social Center Committee, organized to conduct an experimental social center, on novel principles, at Public School 63. When the death of John S. Huyler left without means of support a public school band of 50 pieces, in which the members and the school took pride and which the principal valued for its good influence, Dr. Gulick raised a fund to guarantee its continuance for five years.

The seven major plans prepared by Dr. Gulick in the course of the year 1911-1912 were on the following topics:

A federation of all the national organizations in the field of recreation.

Improvement of recreation facilities in Indian schools and on the reservations.

Promotion of recreation in Milwaukee.

How the graduates of Hampton Institute might be enabled to be a greater influence for health in their communities.

Development of a Permanent Child Welfare Exhibit.

Use of the grounds of Rockefeller Institute for recreation purposes.

A health program for missionaries, before appointment, while in the field, and when on furlough at home.

Two tempting requests from the federal government had to be declined. The War Department asked Dr. Gulick to visit the Philippines, attend an institute, and make recommendations as to health and recreation that might be embodied in the practice of all schools in the islands while the educational system was still in a plastic stage. The Office of Indian Affairs asked him to visit some of the principal reservations, observe the use of leisure time by the boys and young men, and suggest how wholesome forms of recreation and athletic ideals could be introduced, to compete with gambling and drinking.

In the spring of 1911 Dr. Gulick presided at a meeting to launch an organization to be called Camp Fire Girls. On his return to work in the fall after his long enforced absence a com-

mittee of women¹ representing the organization formally requested the Trustees of the Foundation to authorize him to give as much time as might be necessary to get it under way. The Trustees agreed. Dr. Gulick said he undertook the work "believing that the opportunity presented was of greater importance than anything which it had been my privilege to be connected with."

Through the winter he got together an organizing committee and enough money for initial expenses, formulated a philosophy and a program, wrote a manual, supplied information to the public, and solicited funds. The movement was incorporated in the District of Columbia in March, 1912. A constitution and by-laws were adopted in June. Dr. Gulick was elected president. Before the end of the summer 1,020 Camp Fires had been organized, and about half the money estimated to be needed for the next three years had been obtained.

Dr. Gulick's enthusiasm for the program mounted steadily. The growing organization, which he and Mrs. Gulick had been prime agents in creating, demanded more and more of his time. In December, 1912, he resigned from the staff of the Foundation on the ground that the Camp Fire Girls seemed to demand his "first attention" and that moreover the work he had come to the Foundation to do had been accomplished.

After Dr. Gulick's resignation, effective December 31, 1912, no reason remained for the union of Recreation and Education in a Department of Child Hygiene. The Department was discontinued. Its two divisions went on their way independent of each other as distinct units of the Foundation's work.

¹ Dr. Anna L. Brown, of the Young Women's Christian Associations; Mrs. Mary Schenck Woolman, of Teachers College; and Mrs. Luther H. Gulick.

IX

CHILD-HELPING: 1908-1917

THE FIRST department authorized (February 8, 1909) and the first one organized (May 1, 1909) was the Department of Child-Helping.¹ Its work had already begun on April 1, 1908, when Dr. Hart joined the staff of the Foundation on a year's engagement.

SCOPE AND METHODS

Its comprehensive aim was "to promote improved methods of dealing with dependent, neglected, and delinquent children throughout the United States." To this end it tried "to keep informed as to the latest and most efficient developments . . . and to place that information at the service of those who are actively engaged in such work." It made general studies of the status of child welfare work and published the results. On request, it examined individual agencies and made confidential appraisals of their work and suggestions for improvement. It supplied information and advice, when sought, to persons who were founding or reorganizing institutions, and to officials and private citizens engaged in obtaining better provisions for children, through legislation or otherwise, whether piecemeal or in a comprehensive, unified state program.

STUDY OF CHILD-PLACING

When Dr. Hart began work for the Foundation nobody knew how much child-placing was being done in the country; nor how much of it was well done, what methods were in use, which methods gave the best results. "Most of the child-helping organizations and institutions of the United States," he said a few years later, "have occupied a singularly isolated position."

¹ The Charity Organization Department was authorized on the same day, in the next resolution adopted, but it was not organized until October 1, 1909.

As a basis for an over-all view, Dr. Hart entered into correspondence with all the known orphan asylums, children's homes, juvenile reformatories, and child-helping societies in the country—about 1,350 before the study was finished. The information collected by questionnaire disclosed a wide diversity in methods, standards, and efficiency, and even in the meaning attached to the term "placing-out."

To supplement this extensive survey, many state and county agencies were studied, and eight states were selected for detailed investigation. In each of these states special agents would visit every placing-out organization, examine its methods, and, whenever the managers were willing, visit children in their foster homes to see how they fared. The states selected were Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, and California. They represented a variety of policies and local conditions, good and bad.

The study of child-placing "proved to be a large undertaking," said Dr. Hart after it had been in progress more than two years. Several books and parts of books came out of it, and the knowledge of agencies, individuals, and local conditions acquired by the way was an asset in whatever the Department had to do. Material assembled in the first year or so of the study was used in Dr. Hart's volume in the series on Correction and Prevention prepared for the Eighth International Prison Congress.¹ The intensive studies in Pennsylvania and California supplied a basis for two books by William H. Slingerland,² special agent of the Department from 1910 until his death in 1924. Studies in Maryland were completed in 1912 and were prepared for publication the following year. Finally, several years later, in 1918, the Foundation published a manual, *Child-Placing in Families*, by Mr. Slingerland, which in a way carried out the intention that was in Dr. Hart's mind in 1908, and was the first comprehensive treatment of the subject in a single volume.

¹ *Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children*. 1910. Dr. Hart planned the volume, wrote about two-thirds of it, and obtained the special papers from persons specially qualified on particular subjects.

² *Child Welfare Work in Pennsylvania and Child Welfare Work in California*. 1915 and 1916.

STUDIES OF INSTITUTIONS

There were not yet many agencies devoted solely to "placing-out." Most of it was done by institutions. From the beginning, therefore, institutional problems were an integral part of the Department's program.

For the volume on Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children a special study was made of 50 institutions in 13 states. These early years of the twentieth century were the period when the "cottage plan" for institutions was demonstrating its advantages over the huge barracks that had been the pride of philanthropists and politicians of the preceding generations, and when also many old city orphanages were moving to the country, where they could conveniently adopt the new style of plant. The 50 institutions studied were almost equally divided between the congregate and the cottage type and between institutions for delinquent and for dependent children. Full descriptions of all 50 were presented, with photographs and floor plans of a selected number, and discussions of space allowance, building materials, costs, and other matters of interest to trustees and officers. This section of the book, with fuller statistical detail and an introductory chapter on how to organize an institution, was issued also as a separate volume,¹ in the hope that it would be "practically useful to those who desire to establish a new institution or to reorganize an old one."

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE OF 1909

At the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, held in Washington in January, 1909, on the call of President Theodore Roosevelt, Dr. Hart was chairman of the committee on resolutions, which framed the famous platform that was adopted unanimously by the delegates and became the basis of developments in child welfare in succeeding years. The Conference endorsed the proposal before Congress for establishment of a federal Children's Bureau. It urged the establishment of a permanent voluntary organization, to fill a place in the field of child-care

¹ Cottage and Congregate Institutions for Children, by Hastings H. Hart, 1910.

comparable to that occupied in their respective territories by the National Child Labor Committee, the Playground Association of America, and the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. This recommendation was realized by the creation of the Child Welfare League of America in 1920.

LEGISLATION AFFECTING CHILDREN

The first children's court in the United States (in Chicago) was only ten years old in 1909 but the movement was growing rapidly. Under the auspices of the Department a volume containing information about all the laws on the subject in the United States was prepared.¹ It included a summary of state laws, by Thomas J. Homer of the Boston Bar, a topical abstract by Miss Grace Abbott of Chicago, and the text of the "model" law enacted in 1910 for Monroe County, New York. The model law, drafted with the aid of a grant from the Foundation, represented the combined judgment of Homer Folks, Bernard Flexner, and other specialists. Its enactment for Monroe County was the outcome of an inquiry Miss Lattimore was asked to make in Rochester (Monroe County) in January, 1910, as to the need for juvenile-court legislation for that city. This volume was the first summary of juvenile-court laws that had been made.²

Collection of other laws affecting children was carried on in connection with the studies that were the basis of the Department's work. This material proved useful in various ways, particularly when, a few years later, the Department was called upon to advise on the construction of state codes for children.

INFANT MORTALITY

While effective measures for reducing infant mortality in the general population were being developed in the first decade of the present century, deaths in foundling asylums remained high. On behalf of the American Association for the Study and Preven-

¹ *Juvenile Court Laws in the United States*, edited by Hastings H. Hart, 1910.

² It was not one of the set on Correction and Prevention prepared for the International Prison Congress, but it was issued at the same time and it supplemented Dr. Hart's *Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children*, which was one of the series.

tion of Infant Mortality (organized in 1909) Homer Folks requested the Department to make a preliminary inquiry as to the exact situation. The information obtained was shocking. For the next seven years the Department gave a substantial amount of attention to the prevention of infant mortality.

Miss Ellen C. Babbitt¹ studied methods in use in the principal eastern cities of the United States and several countries of Europe, especially the instruction and care of expectant mothers, which was then in its early stages. She designed a poster on Clean and Dirty Milk, issued in May, 1911, which was reprinted by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for distribution by the million among its policyholders. She contributed ideas and material for exhibits on infant welfare. In collaboration with an architect, she prepared a model of a receiving home for foundlings and mothers with babies, which was exhibited at the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography in 1912 and was described in a pamphlet issued by the Department.

Dr. Florence M. Loughton² was assigned to help the Babies Welfare Committee and the New York Diet Kitchen Association develop their work and to smooth out administrative tangles in the operation of the city's milk stations. From the summer of 1914 she was in charge of a demonstration in the practicability of boarding out marasmic babies, undertaken at the instance of Dr. S. Josephine Baker of the Department of Health of the City of New York and with the co-operation of the New York Foundling Hospital. Besides supplying Dr. Loughton's services, the Department provided funds to compensate the foster mothers with whom these sick babies were placed for the extra attention they required. The demonstration showed that the lives of half the babies received in a "hopeless" condition could be saved. At the end of two years the city increased its appropriations to the Department of Health for this branch of its work.

Dr. Hart himself contributed discussions on aspects of infant mortality connected with illegitimacy at meetings of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality

¹ Special agent, 1909-1913.

² A practicing physician, special agent of the Department, half time, 1910-1917.

in 1911 and of the American Public Health Association in 1915. These addresses were issued as pamphlets of the Department. The Department also published in 1913 an 8-page pamphlet (revised in 1917) of simple practical advice for mothers on the care of the baby, written by Dr. Frances Sage Bradley¹; and in 1916 a paper-bound book of 127 pages by Henry H. Hibbs, Jr., on the relation between infant mortality and social and economic conditions.²

CRIPPLED CHILDREN

At the request of Dr. Edward H. Bradford of Boston, president of the board of trustees of the Massachusetts State Hospital School, a study was begun in the fall of 1910 of the treatment and care of crippled and deformed children in the orthopedic hospitals and institutional homes of the United States. No such study had been made previously. All the institutions were visited and a mass of documentary material was collected through correspondence. All aspects of care outside the province of surgeon and physician were studied. Individual descriptions of the institutions and statistical tabulations were included. The resulting book³ gave for the first time a comprehensive view of existing facilities.

RECORDS AND FORMS

Child-caring agencies as a rule were very backward about records. Few of them appreciated the importance that a knowledge of family connections and history might have in the future life of the child. There was little stimulus exerted on them from outside. Few of them came in contact with other agencies in a way that would lead to interchange of ideas as to methods.

From 1909 on, the Department had a statistical secretary, Miss Georgia G. Ralph, on whom devolved the responsibility for giving help on such questions. As time went on it seemed that it would be useful to publish a "record primer" embodying the results of her experience. When she resigned in the fall of 1914

¹ Not a member of the department staff.

² Made up of articles originally printed in various periodical publications, but written with a view to publication as a book; based on investigations in Boston by the Boston School for Social Workers, 1910-1912.

³ Care and Education of Crippled Children in the United States, by Edith Reeves, 1914. Miss Reeves was a special agent of the Foundation, 1910-1913.

she had finished the preparation of a volume, which was published the following year.¹ It included stories illustrating the critical part played by records, or absence of records, in the lives of actual children; analyzed the information that should be recorded for different purposes; and presented forms and methods that had proved practical and useful.

ADVICE TO INDIVIDUAL AGENCIES

Before Dr. Hart came to the Foundation he had a national reputation in various fields of social work and his counsel was widely sought. All the work of his department tended to stimulate such requests. Opportunities to give advice were not sought, but neither were they discouraged. The Department's research was "not undertaken in the interests of pure science alone"; knowledge was accumulated to be used. Invitations therefore were accepted whenever possible, and usually the first visit was the beginning of a long association. The help given was not limited to advice on the care of children. Dr. Hart's varied experience brought requests from reformatories for adults and on general problems of institutional administration. In his early days with the Foundation, for example, he helped organize the work of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of Virginia.

Helping superintendents and boards who wished to improve their work for children was one of Dr. Hart's most congenial duties. He did not consider it a duty, but a privilege. The fatigue of long journeys and crowded days² never entered into his considerations. He seemed to regard each engagement as an adventure. He did not think it unjustifiable to spend time on a single institution, even a small one, for he knew that improvements spread by contagion to other institutions, even at that time when there was little organized intercourse among them.

In his dealings with the officials of agencies Dr. Hart followed certain methods. Nowadays it would be said he had his own technique, but that word was not in his vocabulary where chil-

¹ Elements of Record-Keeping for Child-Helping Organizations.

² In Dr. Hart's first thirty months with the Foundation he visited 146 places in 36 states, from Maine to Washington, from California to Florida. Forty or 50 places annually were common in subsequent years.

dren were concerned. He began by warning that he would be frank and candid. He would tell them exactly what he thought and would give them the best advice he could. He urged them not to adopt any suggestion he made unless after careful consideration it appealed to them as worth trying. In presenting his report he began by commending the favorable features he had been able to find.¹ He explained the reasons for changes he suggested and showed how they could be brought about most economically.

He had a genius for discovering foundations on which to build. In his recommendations he pointed out feasible next steps, not discouraging good intentions by urging an impossible wholesale revolution. When plans for a new agency, however, or complete reorganization of an old one, were under discussion, he did not hesitate to be bold and radical. In some instances his suggestions were not put into effect at once, but results could be seen years later.

Dr. Hart used his influence to encourage provision for children in family homes rather than in institutions. In institutions generally, he advocated small units, simple in style and economical in construction. "Good floors and good plumbing," he would say, were "absolutely essential," but money allotted for ornamentation or imposing façades should be used to provide a higher grade of employe.² In a number of instances he had the satisfaction of dissuading boards of managers from spending most of the funds at their command for a single impressive edifice, and seeing them instead make use of small unpretentious buildings and engage a competent matron and staff. When donors or officials were loath to give up their visions of a large building of the congregate type he sometimes suggested that they send a committee to see some of the modern cottage institutions in Westchester County;³ and

¹ In one case, for example, where he could say nothing commendatory about the care given the wards of the institution, he started by praising the accommodations provided for the mules and pigs.

² "There ought not to be a woman employed anywhere about the institution," he said in one of his reports, "who is not a woman of character, refinement, and intelligence. The use of good English should be a *sine qua non*, because the girls get their English from the employes with whom they associate."

³ "One of the most remarkable groups of institutions to be found within like territory anywhere in the United States, or perhaps in the world," Dr. Hart commented in reporting on a survey of them made under his direction in the summer of

if this was done he arranged a tour of visits for them and luncheons in New York at which they met some of the leaders in child welfare.

On the question of care for the feeble-minded Dr. Hart was one of the early advocates of the policy of segregating feeble-minded girls of child-bearing age. As between educational institutions for feeble-minded children and custodial institutions for girls over twelve, if resources were not available for both, he urged concentrating on the latter as being more profitable to society. Acting on his advice, the legislature of Virginia, in establishing its state colony for feeble-minded in 1912, provided that preference in admissions should be given to girls of child-bearing age.

Not infrequently Dr. Hart was called upon for help on problems arising from the hampering weight of a "dead hand." In 1915 the trustees of Carson College for Orphan Girls in Philadelphia brought him their perplexities. This institution, founded in 1907, had an endowment of \$3,500,000, but restrictions as to its use had kept the trustees in a quandary. Another bequest, amounting to \$4,500,000, had been left in 1909 for a similar institution, Ellis College, with somewhat different restrictions. Dr. Hart suggested that the two boards work out their problems together. He arranged a two-day conference, attended by persons conversant with conditions in Philadelphia, and by leading authorities from all parts of the country on the care and training of orphan and half-orphan girls. Plans for the development of the two institutions were materially affected by the recommendations of the conference and by relations established through it.

Mooseheart, the home for children of deceased or disabled members of the Royal Order of Moose, was another institution with which the Department had intermittent contact during its formative years. At the request of the board of governors Dr. Hart met with them in the early stages of their plans. They had in mind building an institution to accommodate 5,000 boys and

1914 by Miss Katherine Z. Wells. Most of them were institutions for New York City children, which had moved to the country since 1900. Several had a national reputation for advanced methods. Only eight of the 40 admitted children from Westchester County, and those only a few.

girls on a 1,000-acre farm about 40 miles from Chicago, and introducing a system of vocational education that would ultimately make it self-supporting through the work of the children. Dr. Hart cautioned them against such expectations and advised them to go slow on their building plans. He invited them to New York, where he showed them some of the best cottage institutions and arranged a conference with a number of leaders. "Some of our advice they have adopted and some they have disregarded," he reported two years later. Early in 1916 they invited him to revisit Mooseheart. Again he made a series of recommendations, most of which were favorably received. They had already abandoned the idea of education for revenue. Now they appointed an experienced educator and administrator as superintendent, proceeded to make each cottage a self-contained domestic unit, adopted improved plans for cottages to be erected in the future, and decided to engage a traveling caseworker to study applications for admission. When after a year's search they could not find a suitable person for this purpose, Mr. Slingerland of Dr. Hart's staff was lent to them in the winter of 1917-1918 for six months.¹ "This office is consulted with reference to every important step taken at Mooseheart," said Dr. Hart in the fall of 1916; and two years later he remarked, "There is hardly a month when some request does not come from them."

OUTLINES FOR ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSIONS

Before Miss Lattimore resigned in 1914 she had devised a plan for stimulating discussion of institutional problems by boards of directors. The plan was worked out by C. Spencer Richardson, who succeeded her as associate director of the Department.

Outlines were prepared for discussions on eight aspects of the management of institutions for dependent children, in the hope that boards would arrange to devote at least one meeting to each of the topics, with the aid of the outlines and supplementary monographs. The general plan and five of the contemplated

¹ In his first month 25 applications were withdrawn or suspended by common consent.

topical monographs were printed by the Foundation early in 1916.¹

To launch the plan, presidents of a selected group of institutions in and near New York were invited to a series of conferences in the Foundation building, which were well attended. The pamphlets were used by the New York and the Indiana state boards of charities and by a number of individual institutions.

PROGRAMS OF CHILD WELFARE

By the time of the First White House Conference leaders in child welfare recognized the need for co-ordinated programs. State laws as a rule were a confusing, contradictory, inadequate patchwork. Provisions for care had developed in haphazard fashion, by luck or accident or caprice, according to the interests of individual philanthropists and the pressure exerted on public authorities, rather than according to a comprehensive plan. For some types of children and in some localities there might be no resources whatever; in other places and for other groups there might be more than were needed. Methods and quality of work varied tremendously. Obviously the state was the best unit for a unified program, and the legislative framework was the natural starting point.

In 1911 Ohio created a commission to revise and consolidate its laws relating to children, and to suggest such amendments and additions as would bring them "into harmony with the best thought on this subject." The Commission applied repeatedly to Dr. Hart for advice and information. When the Code went into effect he was consulted on the organization of the department of child welfare it created and on the selection of a director and an assistant director. From this time forward the promotion of state programs for child welfare was an important part of the Department's work. It gave much help to persons interested in creating

¹ Round-Table Plan for Trustees of Institutions for Dependent Children, by C. Spencer Richardson; The Job of Being a Trustee, and Admission and Discharge of Children, by Hastings H. Hart; Physical Care of Dependent Children in Institutions, Education of Dependent Children in Institutions, and Development of the Individual Child in Institutions for Dependents, by C. Spencer Richardson. The monographs on the other three topics were not issued, presumably because the war interfered.

"code commissions" in various states, notably in Minnesota, and to members and officials of such commissions after their appointment.

For obvious reasons state codes could not be uniform, but they could be harmonized in the sense that each of them could "cover the field of children's needs as comprehensively as possible." To promote this object a National Committee for Standardizing Children's Laws was organized in 1915, under the chairmanship of C. C. Carstens,¹ secretary of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Dr. Hart was an active member of the Committee.

Laws were by no means the whole of a state program of child welfare; nor was an official commission always the first step toward achieving it. All the work done by the Department of Child-Helping in its studies and in its services to individual agencies tended to promote a sense of the need for correlation and for supplying unmet needs. Mr. Slingerland's study in Pennsylvania was conducted with the express object of developing a state program. His report on California supplied material for that state. In 1916 he prepared a constructive program of organized child welfare work for New Orleans and Louisiana.² In New Hampshire, Connecticut, Alabama, and Texas, consultation with the Department sought independently by two or more agencies led to progress toward improved general provisions.

"So far as I am aware," Dr. Hart reported in the fall of 1916, "this department has been consulted with reference to every important movement for a state children's program in the United States thus far, and the suggestions which we have made have been received with marked consideration."

A BUREAU TO FOSTER MUTUAL ACQUAINTANCE

The national association of child welfare agencies recommended by the White House Conference was not realized imme-

¹ As chairman of the Children's Section of the National Conference of Charities and Correction Mr. Carstens had presented a report in May, 1915, on a community plan in children's work. This, and two papers on the results respectively of institutional care and of the work of a child-placing society, were printed as pamphlets by the Department of Child-Helping for distribution in advance of publication of the Proceedings of the Conference.

² Presented at the meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress held in New Orleans in 1916.

diately, but in 1915 some 45 of them moved to form a Bureau for Exchange of Information—just as a group of charity organization societies had done in 1905. Mr. Richardson agreed to act as secretary and for three years the work was done in his office. From this informal beginning there developed, after the war, the Child Welfare League of America.

CLOSE OF THE DECADE

Although much of Dr. Hart's time from April, 1917, was spent in work connected with the war, the regular work of the Department of Child-Helping was less affected than that of some other departments. In April, at the request of the War Department, he co-operated with the Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor in studying plans for using inmates of jails as farm laborers and in other ways. From June he was occupied largely in framing state programs for the maximum use of state institutions and other social resources to meet the needs of wartime. This gave an opportunity for reviewing provisions for children, as well as other agencies, in these states and making recommendations that in some cases resulted in permanent improvement. While making these special wartime studies, however, Dr. Hart was able to spend some time in his New York office and the projects under way by his associates were not interrupted.

In the year 1916-1917 Dr. Hart gave substantial aid to the code commissions of Minnesota and Missouri and to trustees of a number of institutions in 16 states and Canada. He participated in seven social welfare conferences in Canadian cities. Mr. Slingerland made progress in writing his book on Child-Placing, conducted special investigations in Tennessee, and at the request of the officers of several institutions made a study¹ that gave practical help on a troublesome problem. Mr. Richardson, at the request of the Children's Bureau of Delaware and an advisory Survey Committee, began a comprehensive study of the care of dependent, delinquent, and defective children in the state of Delaware.

¹ The Care and Cure of Enuresis. 1917.

X

SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS: 1908-1917

SOON after the appropriation for a field survey of the Southern Highlands had been made, John C. Campbell began to make plans for carrying out his ideas.

Preliminary to a field study, the summer of 1908 was devoted to conferences and interviews with members of the Country Life Commission appointed by President Roosevelt, federal and southern state officials whose departments were meeting rural needs, superintendents of mountain mission boards, and faculties of southern universities and colleges in and adjoining the mountain country.

In the fall of that year the actual survey began. During the latter part of 1908 and the spring of 1909 Mr. and Mrs. Campbell traveled, in addition to journeys by railroad, hundreds of miles on horseback and by wagon through the mountain sections of Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina. Later Mr. Campbell visited numerous places in the mountains of Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama, and South Carolina. Thus the work of the survey continued and developed until in October, 1912, the Foundation created the Southern Highland Division with Mr. Campbell as secretary. In March, 1913, the headquarters of the Division were established at Asheville, North Carolina.

FIELD OF WORK

The announcement of the fact that the Division had been organized immediately brought to the office many requests for information relating to the "Southern Highlands."¹ It was therefore necessary at once to define for inquirers what this field included. Much time was given through correspondence and in more public ways to defining the territory correctly and to giving

¹ Requests came also for data relating to the Ozark Mountains of Arkansas and Missouri, states which had not been studied.

accurate and just descriptions of its physical, social, and educational characteristics.

The field of the Division was necessarily restricted to the mountainous areas of the nine southern states east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio, or, more specifically, to those of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama—West Virginia being regarded in its entirety as a mountain state. This region—slightly larger than the combined areas of the New England states, New York, and Delaware—is approximately 112,000 square miles in extent. Its geographical boundaries, extending from the southern line of Pennsylvania to central Alabama, are the Blue Ridge on the east, and the western edge of the Allegheny-Cumberland Plateau on the west. The region is itself divided into three geological belts: the eastern or Blue Ridge; the central or Valley-Ridge belt; and the western or Allegheny-Cumberland belt. These belts, differing one from another geologically, vary considerably in their forms of development. The western belt, for instance, being a bituminous coal belt, and developing rapidly in ways similar to other coal-mining regions, extended the area of problems which had been confined to a small section only of the mountain country.

Within the field of the Division life is predominantly rural. When the Division was active, out of the total population of more than 5,000,000 over 4,000,000 lived in rural communities; and 182 of the 255 mountain counties included were rural in their entirety, that is, they contained no incorporated communities with as many as 2,500 people—the minimum for an urban community set by the United States census.¹ The population is composed of American-born whites, except for a comparatively small number of foreign-born people and Negroes; most of these groups live in urban and industrial centers.

In many sections of the region the problems presented are no more perplexing than those of rural regions elsewhere, while in others they are so intensified by topography as to challenge the best thought and effort—social, educational, and economic.

¹ Data taken from census of 1910.

METHODS

The ways in which the Division sought to serve as a co-ordinating agency were:

1. To gather facts regarding conditions in the mountains; and to disseminate this information.
2. To keep in touch with all agencies and schools—church and independent—known to the Division, and to establish connection with new agencies as they sprang up from time to time.
3. To serve as an intermediary between the existing agencies in the field, and to establish a connection between them and such federal, state, county, and privately supported organizations as could be of assistance to them.
4. To foster demand for state and local support for public institutions, such as schools and hospitals.
5. To promote acquaintance and co-operation among the various denominations and among their schools at work in the mountain field, and between the denominational and non-denominational groups.
6. To give information regarding the mountains and their people and the work of mountain agencies.
7. To study successful rural schools and other promising rural activities in this and other countries, and to bring to the attention of mountain agencies such movements as would seem possible of adaptation to mountain conditions.
8. In other ways, as opportunity offered, to advance what appeared to be needed for a richer rural life, economic, social, educational, physical, and spiritual.

SCHOOLS

Among the established agencies in the mountain field are schools maintained by denominational and non-denominational or independent boards of trustees. These schools were the first points visited by Mr. Campbell. At the same time he took advantage, during his journeys, of opportunities to interview mountain people in their homes, local ministers, lawyers, physicians, and county superintendents of education. He also visited local public schools and attended county teachers' institutes.

His study of the schools—church, independent, and public—resulted in much informing data. The examination of the church

and independent schools, for instance, showed much good work being done of the usual academic character, but revealed a necessity for greater adaptation of educational methods to regional needs; while study of the public schools disclosed the fact that many, especially those of the remote mountain sections, were ineffective because of the same absence of adaptation to regional needs.

These weaknesses reflected only educational defects outside of the mountains. Most of the private and public schools were doing the best they could under the influence of the academic system then in operation throughout this country and with the funds and equipment at their command. For the most part the schools, both private and public, gave little attention in their curricula to economic needs, even when they were recognized. It was found, however, that the local public schools were often overshadowed by the private schools in their neighborhoods, because the latter were able usually to command the services of better trained teachers.

Farsighted southern leaders were already shaping plans for improving the public schools of the mountains, and certain state legislatures, co-operating with them, were framing measures to make these plans ultimately effective. In a number of the larger communities, especially in the county-seats, some of the church and independent schools were duplicating the functions of the public school, and by their very excellence were retarding the growth of the public opinion necessary to insure a whole-hearted trial of the new laws for better public schools. It was felt therefore that a real service could be rendered the mountains by working out with the sympathetic leaders of the church and independent schools a way whereby such mountain schools might cease to be competitors, consciously or unconsciously, of the public schools, and become pioneers in a new kind of education based on the physical resources of the country, and on the economic, intellectual, social, and spiritual aspirations and needs of the people.

That helpful information might be available for schools of this character, the original survey was extended to include an investigation of leading institutions of the United States and Canada

which gave particular attention to social and agricultural education in rural districts, and to the training of rural teachers.

To improve the standards of teaching in the mountains there seemed to be a need that some prominent institution in the South should make special provision for training teachers for both public and private schools in the remote rural sections of the region. Mr. Campbell submitted plans for such a training course to Bruce R. Payne, president of George Peabody College in Nashville, and had conferences with him and his faculty. The plans included provision for sending a "peripatetic faculty" to the more secluded communities to instruct teachers on the spot. With the same purpose in mind, Mr. Campbell conferred with legislators and other influential persons on the possibility of establishing a state normal school in western North Carolina, to be especially adapted to the needs of that part of the state. He also used his influence to promote traveling libraries.

AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

Questions also arose as to whether the soil resources of the mountains were sufficient to furnish a foundation for sound agricultural life, granting that the education provided by the schools could be readjusted to foster rural training; or whether it would be better to encourage the movement, active in certain quarters, of the mountain folk to the cotton mills or industrial centers of the Piedmont Plateau and to the farms of the Lowlands.

These questions led to a study, continued through many months, of the Piedmont cotton mill section, especially of North and South Carolina, and to extended correspondence and numerous interviews with managers and superintendents of several hundred cotton mills in these and other mountain states. Opinions as to the relative advantages and disadvantages of life in the mill centers and in the communities from which the mountain operatives come, were sought from the operatives themselves, and from ministers, physicians, teachers, and others well informed on living and social conditions, in both mill village and mountain community. The same procedure was followed in a study of coal-mining localities in the western belt of the mountain country.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Information was also obtained from experts who had studied the mountain field as to its coal measures, water power, forests, minerals, building stones, and so forth. Special inquiry was made of experts as to soil fertility and the possibility of farming, horticulture, and stock raising throughout the mountain section.¹ In addition, through the courtesy of officials of the Country Life Commission, correspondence was opened with leading farmers in 200 or more mountain counties, and with others acquainted with farming conditions in their respective sections. Several Italian and Swiss farming colonies in the mountains were also visited.

In regard to the physical wealth of the mountain country, the findings showed facts of the most encouraging nature, namely, that the resources were ample; that the soil, with proper treatment and suitable crops, would be able to support not only the population now on it, but a greatly increased population. It was the general opinion, however, that whether the mountain people themselves would be able to continue to possess the land would depend upon their ability and the ability of their children to use it productively, and that instruction in making rural life more productive must be given them in order that they might hold their heritage.

HEALTH

The inadequacy of medical and nursing care and of instruction in hygiene in the mountains was one of Mr. Campbell's chief concerns. The physical health of the mountaineer and his family was also carefully inquired into. The findings varied greatly with the sections visited. Contrary to general opinion, it was found that tuberculosis was prevalent in certain mountain areas, and that pneumonia, typhoid fever, and other diseases exacted their annual toll. As there were no reliable vital statistics for this region at the time of Mr. Campbell's journeys, and as the presence of tuberculosis seemed serious in some of the sections visited, he asked the National Association for the Study and Prevention

¹ Particularly helpful were the specialists of the United States Bureau of Soils, Bureau of Forestry, Experiment Stations of the Department of Agriculture, and the Geological Survey.

of Tuberculosis to undertake an examination as to the prevalence of the disease, and to set in motion corrective measures. He arranged for Dr. Livingston Farrand, the secretary of the Society, to visit and confer with physicians and county superintendents of education in the mountain regions specially affected. Public attention was also directed to these more remote areas, and promising efforts for care and prevention were inaugurated under the leadership of the appropriate state agencies.

Mr. Campbell also promoted the educational work of the national and state tuberculosis associations, co-operated with state boards of health in their campaigns for full-time health officers in certain mountain counties, and was instrumental in introducing the Town and Country Nursing Service of the American Red Cross into several sections. A concrete achievement that gave him great satisfaction was the establishing of a physician under the auspices of a church board in one of the mountain presbyteries of North Carolina, which was followed by introduction of the Red Cross Nursing Service and a demand for a hospital. He urged the Red Cross to create a "sustentation fund" for a pioneer corps of nurses and the maintenance, in co-operation with other agencies, of a center in the mountain country for training nurses for this specialized work and developing methods adapted to it.

MISCELLANEOUS

In regard to the general surveys, the facts gathered, observations made, and tentative conclusions reached were embodied in a report to the Foundation. Mr. Campbell thereafter spent much time both north and south in bringing his more important findings to the attention of teachers' associations, annual gatherings of boards of officials, sociological congresses, conferences of mountain workers of various denominations, and to meetings of other organizations with work in the mountain country.

Relations with agencies and leaders in the field were maintained through correspondence, occasional visits, and conferences. Acquaintance and co-operation between local mountain agencies was at times promoted by bringing together for conference

representatives of agencies successful in initiating new features of mountain work and others who desired to follow their example.

An important agency for promoting acquaintance among organizations in the field with extra-mountain agencies, and for encouraging the discussion of mountain problems, was the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers. It was inaugurated at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1913, and has since then met annually at Knoxville, Tennessee.¹ Originally suggested by Mr. Campbell, this conference was the outgrowth of the co-operation of representatives of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board, the Executive Committee of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. (Southern), the Home Missions Board and the Department of Country Church Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (Northern), the American Missionary Association, the Christian Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Southern Highland Division of Russell Sage Foundation.

From a small beginning of 30 persons, few of whom were official delegates, the Conference enrollment increased steadily until in April, 1917, it had 150 official representatives, and a much larger number in attendance. Thirteen denominations prominent in mountain work were officially interested. In addition to delegates from church boards, which maintained nearly 200 denominational schools, representatives of their leading schools and of the important group of independent schools came.

In the aims of the Danish Folk Schools Mr. Campbell found features that seemed to him admirably adapted to mountain conditions. They emphasized the vocational and economic needs of the students but they also included other aspects of education; and in successfully promoting spiritual and cultural elements they tended to enrich all phases of rural life. By circulating material about the Danish institution and urging study of it, as he was called upon to advise with church boards and individual schools, Mr. Campbell acted as a missionary for its ideas throughout the Southern Highlands. He made arrangements to go to Denmark in August, 1914, to study it at first hand, but the out-

¹ In 1944 it met in Asheville, N. C., for special reasons.

break of war in Europe on the eve of his sailing made it necessary to give up the visit.

From time to time, persons well equipped for medical service, nursing, domestic science, and so forth, sought the advice of the Division as to localities in the mountains where their services would be most acceptable. Others sought advice as to the disposition of their funds or guidance as to promising fields of especial interest to them.

Close relations were maintained with federal, state, and county leaders of public education, whose helpful co-operation has always been generously given. Mr. Campbell also joined with local mountain leaders and with federal and state officials in introducing rural credit unions.

As opportunity offered, the Division furthered other efforts for improving rural conditions, such as the movement for enriching the work of the country church. Whenever requested, advice and other help were freely given together with the use of data on record in the office.

MOUNTAIN LORE

But the Division was concerned not alone with what pertained to the economic, religious, and educational needs of the Highlands: there is much in mountain life, in its lore, its culture, and its history, that has often been overlooked in the more urgent consideration of special needs. Authors, writers, and scholars, interested in the study of special phases of mountain life and lore, sought advice and information from the secretary from time to time. He gave both readily with the understanding that they should give a fair presentation of mountain life, not merely of its exceptional or picturesque characteristics.

Early in their journeyings through the region Mrs. Campbell began to collect the unwritten ballads sung by the mountaineers as handed down orally from generation to generation. In 1916 when Cecil J. Sharp, director of the Stratford-on-Avon School of Folk Song and Dance, was in this country, she showed him the results of her collection and persuaded him to visit the Highlands that summer to supplement the researches he and others had been making in England for twenty or thirty years.

He found a rich field. Because of the greater seclusion of the people, many early versions no longer known in England had survived here, and some songs and ballads that had disappeared entirely in England were still current. American variants sometimes showed "amazing inventiveness." In the Appalachians, moreover, it was not only the old people who knew the traditional songs, but "pretty nearly every one." For the first time in his life, said Mr. Sharp, he found himself in a community "in which singing was . . . almost as universal a practice as speaking."

Under the guidance of Mr. and Mrs. Campbell he spent nine weeks in three selected districts of the mountains on this first visit. By the end of that time he had collected 450 tunes, including those already collected by Mrs. Campbell. For publication¹ they selected 325 associated with 122 different sets of words—55 ballads and 67 songs. These were printed "exactly as we took them down from the lips of the singers, without editing or 'adornment' whatsoever," with annotations and an introduction by Mr. Sharp, including an idyllic picture of the social graces and the culture of the mountain people.

PUBLICATIONS

The Division published but one report, *The Future of the Church and Independent Schools in Our Southern Highlands*. An address by the secretary on the relative advantages for the mountaineer of life in the mountains and in mill villages, entitled *From Mountain Cabin to Cotton Mill*, was published in 1913 by the National Child Labor Committee. As chairman of the Executive Committee of the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers, the secretary wrote *The Southern Highlands*, a pamphlet setting forth the needs of the region as viewed by leading educators in the mountains, and the qualifications desired in those entering mountain work. He also edited and prepared for publication from time to time the proceedings of the earlier conferences of Southern Mountain Workers.

¹ *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, by Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil J. Sharp. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1917.

XI

CHARITY ORGANIZATION: 1909-1917

FOR THE first two years after beginning work on October 1, 1909, the Charity Organization Department was occupied mainly with carrying forward the extension activities of the Field Department of Charities and the Commons, which had been supported for two years by grants from the Foundation before it was integrated with the direct work. At the same time beginnings were made in research, teaching, and writing.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION EXTENSION

In the two years of active propaganda by the Field Department (1907-1909) and the first two years of the Charity Organization Department (1909-1911) 47 new societies were established, 17 existing societies¹ were reorganized or revived, and advances were made in standards of work.

The four points emphasized in standards were "a trained social worker as executive"; a broadly representative board of directors; close co-operation with other agencies, including in the larger cities organization of "a council (or moral federation) of social agencies, democratically controlled"; and a program "of social casework and of community service which aims both to alleviate distress and to prevent it." "One of the most important victories won" during the four years, in Miss Richmond's opinion, was "the fight for the trained secretary: communities that would have been satisfied with local executives without training or social outlook, at salaries ranging probably from \$600 to \$900, were induced to engage the best workers obtainable anywhere at salaries ranging from \$1,200 to \$1,800 instead."

¹ "A charity organization society, once started," Miss Richmond reflected in one of her reports, "is one of the hardest things in the world to kill. The tasks undertaken by such societies are so fundamental that even the ineffectual organizations have a fairly good chance of survival." Of the societies that had "sunk to a contentedly low level," she classified some as "merely provincial and backward," others as "stubbornly reactionary," and some as needing "not reorganization but stimulation."

Simple printed material was needed in this extension work. The Department continued to use leaflets that had been issued by the Field Department and supplemented them in 1910 and 1911 by a series of its own on elementary topics.¹ These were well written, well printed, small enough to slip in a correspondence envelope, and were sold at a nominal price. In the fall of 1910 a practical handbook of 51 pages by Mr. McLean, based on his three years of experience in the field, was published under the title *Formation of Charity Organization Societies in Smaller Cities*.²

As a regular medium of communication with the societies the confidential bulletin of the Field Department was continued under the name *Charity Organization Bulletin*. Circulation of the Bulletin was strictly controlled and it was kept confidential, that there might be freedom for professional workers to discuss records of families privately without danger of publicity and to present partial results of studies and tentative conclusions. During its lifetime, from December, 1909, through 1918, it was a powerful, though unobtrusive, educational instrument in the development of family casework.

SEPARATION OF EXTENSION ACTIVITIES

From the time the Department was established Miss Richmond and Mr. McLean had believed that "the charity organization societies of the country would be greatly strengthened when they themselves became the missionary body responsible for country-wide development in their own field."³ At a meeting of society executives in May, 1910, in connection with the National Conference of Charities and Correction, a committee was named to report the following year on a plan for a national association. In 1911 the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity was formed. Mr. McLean became its general secretary. The

¹ *What Is Organized Charity?*; Relief, by Frederic Almy; Treatment, by Porter R. Lee; On Being a Director, by Alexander Johnson; "Passing On" as a Method of Charitable Relief, with description of the Transportation Agreement and Code.

² This was enlarged and enriched from a draft he had prepared in 1906 for the Correspondence Branch of the Field Department.

³ A group of them (see p. 31) had been responsible for originating the movement.

extension work¹ of the Department was transferred to the new association from October, 1911. The Department and the Association worked together almost as closely after the separation as before. The Foundation provided office space free of charge and the Department gave substantial help in services as well as counsel.

In the division of work that was agreed upon the Department continued to act as the center for the interchange of material (forms, appeals, leaflets) among members of the Exchange Branch of the Field Department. It continued to serve as an informal employment exchange until a branch for social workers was established in 1913² by the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations. It published the Directory of Charity Organization Societies³ until the Association took it over in 1916, and periodically compiled lists of "forwarding centers."⁴ In addition to carrying its share of consultation service, on occasion the Department responded to requests for studies of existing societies when the Association was not in a position to do so. As agent for a committee of the National Conference of Charities and Correction it continued to administer the Transportation Agreement, which established principles and regulations to govern charitable organizations and public relief officials in providing free transportation or reduced rates for persons in their care.⁵ The idea originated at a preorganization meeting of the National Conference of Jewish Charities in 1899. It was put into effect in 1904. The object was to substitute adequate inquiry and provision of adequate care for the traveler straight through to a place which should be responsible for his care instead of the old system of passing him on from place to place without reference to responsibility. From time to time the Department issued revised editions of the text of the Agreement, the list of signers, the rules binding them, and the

¹ That is, the organization of new societies, although instances are recorded of Miss Byington's participation in such work as late as 1913.

² With the help of Russell Sage Foundation and the New York School of Philanthropy.

³ First issued as a separate pamphlet by the Field Department but before that appended regularly to the annual reports of the Boston, New York, and Philadelphia societies, in a list that included similar societies in foreign countries.

⁴ Societies that undertook to find trustworthy correspondents to answer inquiries about families in a given territory.

⁵ See *The Transportation Problem*, by Jeffrey R. Brackett, 1936.

telegraphic code to be used; forwarded complaints and appeals for arbitration; and obtained additional signers.

This reorganization left the Department relatively free to concentrate on the other part of its original program, which in Miss Richmond's words was "to gather up the best experience of existing charity organization societies and give it currency."

Fred S. Hall, who for three years had been secretary of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Association and before that had had a varied experience in academic, statistical, social, and civic work, was appointed associate director. Miss Byington, with her title changed to associate director, remained for two years more, until she went to the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities as supervisor of district work.

STUDIES IN SOCIAL CASEWORK

Analysis of the processes of social casework was the Department's distinctive field of research in the period to 1917. This had been an absorbing interest with Miss Richmond from the early days of her acquaintance with charity organization work in Baltimore in the 1890's. On coming to the Foundation she found conditions favorable for systematic study. In the first year she wrote a series of articles on the technique of investigation for her *Charity Organization Bulletin*; began collecting case records for discussion in the *Bulletin* and as a basis for teaching; and began a study of the methods in use by charity organization societies in their treatment of widows with dependent children, which was intended to be the first in a series taking up one type of family problem after another.

A Case History Series of 17 annotated records was printed in the *Bulletin* between December, 1911, and the end of 1916; and three more were printed in 1917 as the first number of a projected Case Monograph Series, which was carried no further. The histories were reprinted separately and put at the service of trusted teachers of casework. Contrary to the original intention, they were never published, because of Miss Richmond's fear that the families might be recognized. "No matter how well disguised," she said, a record "full enough to deserve study is still

a very identifiable thing." Results of the study of treatment of widows were published in a monograph in 1913.¹

At the end of her first year in the Foundation Miss Richmond formulated her general subject of study as "the basis of fact necessary for any social work that involves differentiation of treatment." This study developed through the following years into one of the most useful and best-known books that the Foundation has produced—*Social Diagnosis*, published in 1917.

In the preparation of this book case records from many types of agencies were analyzed, with the object of "identifying social casework processes wherever found" and discovering "that skill which should be the common property of a professional brotherhood." Study of actual practice in different kinds of social work was supplemented by wide reading in other fields. Philosophy and literature, history, logic, education, medicine, psychology, criminology, and perhaps most of all the laws of evidence developed by jurisprudence, yielded illumination. For six years Miss Richmond spent the greater part of her time in studying this material, discussing problems with students of evidence in other professions as well as in social work, formulating her ideas and organizing them, submitting what she wrote to competent critics, working tirelessly until she had a book that met her own critical standards.

There was no consensus in advance as to what the demand for it would be. A first edition of 1,500 copies was exhausted within a month. It was welcomed promptly as the foundation for a technique of social casework.² No revision has ever been made, nor has any later book taken its place. More than 30,000 copies have been sold through 1946 and there is still a steady demand for it. Looking back from 1927, Miss Richmond was specially gratified by the recognition it had received from industrial welfare managers, hospital physicians, leaders in the law schools, and so on. "As originally planned," she said, "it sought the common denominator in social work itself, but the method developed . . .

¹ *A Study of Nine Hundred and Eighty-Five Widows Known to Certain Charity Organization Societies in 1910*, by Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall.

² In 1921 Smith College conferred on Miss Richmond the honorary degree of Master of Arts, for "establishing the scientific basis of a new profession."

seems to have proved useful far beyond the boundaries of social work. In addition, the use of the book as a text has tended to draw the different forms of social casework closer together."

The Department had varying degrees of responsibility for several other publications of the Foundation. *Social Work in Hospitals* was written by Miss Cannon at Miss Richmond's suggestion and was edited in the Department. Editorial work was done also on *One Thousand Homeless Men*, *San Francisco Relief Survey*, and *Outdoor Relief in Missouri*.

A CONTROVERSY

While the study of widows' families under the care of private societies was in progress, sentiment in the United States was rising in favor of "mothers' aid" or "widows' pensions" from public funds. To find out how the new provisions were working, the Department asked C. C. Carstens to spend three months in the fall of 1912 looking into the situation in Illinois, where the first state law had been passed the preceding year, and in several cities that had municipal plans in operation. His findings—unfavorable on the whole—were published in *The Survey* in January, 1913, and more fully in a pamphlet issued by the Department two months later.¹

In the controversy that raged in many parts of the country for several years, exponents of organized charity were to be found on both sides. The Department stood steadfastly with the opposition.² A large part of its correspondence and consultation service in 1913 and 1914 was on this topic.

CO-ORDINATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

As the national social agencies multiplied and grew, it became obvious that the basic charity organization principle of co-operation through exchange of information could be applied as profitably to their field work as to the co-ordination of charity within a city.

During the two years of extension activities the field workers of the Charity Organization Department gave more and more

¹ *Public Pensions to Widows with Children*.

² On grounds stated by Miss Richmond in "Motherhood and Pensions," in *The Survey*, March 1, 1913.

attention to the background of general social conditions in the cities they visited. Mr. McLean made it a matter of routine to pass on to the other national agencies any information gathered about child labor, tuberculosis, housing, and other conditions. Through the department office, seven organizations regularly exchanged the itineraries of their field secretaries.

In its first year the Department invited representatives of the leading agencies of national scope to meet for informal conference at luncheon. This began a series of semi-annual luncheons. At the first meeting the Department agreed to prepare a directory of national agencies, which was published in the spring of 1910 in a small pamphlet containing information about 67 organizations and an introduction by Miss Richmond.¹ Discussion at the second luncheon led to the preparation by Miss Byington in 1911 of a pamphlet that was welcomed as a basis of study by clubs and other groups of various kinds and became the "best seller" in social work for many years.² It was revised and enlarged several times, and ran through four editions aggregating 54,000 copies before its place was taken in 1939 by Miss Colcord's book, *Your Community*.

After the Foundation, in 1912, established a Department of Surveys and Exhibits the "inter-relations luncheons" were transferred to its auspices. An advisory committee representing the national agencies was named for the new department. Miss Richmond was chairman of its supervising committee, and members of her staff assisted in several of its projects.

STUDIES IN ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Another important pamphlet prepared by Miss Byington was published in 1912.³ Increasing appreciation by various kinds of agencies of the practical value of a central registration bureau—the elementary instrument for "organizing" charity—made this publication particularly opportune. Based on a study of five of the largest exchanges, it described in detail the administrative methods and office machinery they had found useful.

¹ *The Inter-Relation of Social Movements.*

² *What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities.*

³ *The Confidential Exchange.*

After Mr. Hall was added to the staff considerable attention was given to questions of record-keeping and office management in charity organization societies. The Department printed standard cards, forms, and blanks for various purposes, and sold them to societies at cost. Mr. Hall made a brief study of office systems for smaller societies, which was printed in the Bulletin for January and February, 1912. He prepared and circulated annotated scrapbooks illustrating educational publicity, financial appeals, the use of administrative forms, and the preparation of annual reports; also a charity organization exhibit on large panels, another that could be packed in a suitcase, and reproductions of the panels for use in reports and newspapers.

Two major studies were made by Mr. Hall before 1917, both of them for the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity. For more than a year beginning May, 1914, he served as secretary of a Committee on Statistics of the Association. The Committee's report, published by the Department,¹ presented a tentative uniform nomenclature and method of counting cases.

The second major study was of financial federations.² In 1915 the Association was receiving many inquiries from its constituents about this relatively new but lusty development. A committee was appointed to collect facts and make recommendations as to the position the Association should take. Mr. Hall's services were put at the disposal of this committee for well over a year. His report on the facts was printed as an appendix to the committee's report³ and recommendations, in a pamphlet of 285 pages, published in October, 1917, by the Association under the title Financial Federations. The committee's recommendation was "against any adoption of the plan at present" in cities where it was under consideration, on the ground that it had not yet been demonstrated "whether the federation plan in any city means a net social advance or the reverse." Miss Richmond herself, although she never discussed financial federations in print, freely expressed her fear that they would tend to put social forces under the

¹ Charity Organization Statistics. 1915.

² Local federations of social agencies, which had as one of their objects, usually the chief object, joint collection of funds.

³ Also drafted by Mr. Hall.

domination of business concepts. On financial federations, as on public assistance to widows, the Department's position was counter to the main currents of the time.

Small "inter-city conferences" of secretaries of charity organization societies were arranged by the Department from time to time. Two were held in 1913-1914, one on financial methods and one on statistics. In the fall of 1914 a two-day Conference on the Coming Winter was called, to consider programs for meeting the prospective depression. Executives of 17 leading societies were present. The conclusions and policies agreed upon "were of inestimable value to the country at large," said Miss Richmond in her next annual report, "in steadying popular opinion, in lessening the number and size of hysterical and harmful efforts . . . , and in persuading municipal governments and individual employers to increase legitimate opportunities of employment." The November number of the Bulletin was devoted to practical suggestions, and through the winter the Department conducted an exchange of reports among the societies. In the spring of 1915 another conference was held to discuss how to meet attacks on the position that had been taken by the societies.

TEACHING

Study and teaching went hand in hand. On coming to New York Miss Richmond was asked to teach in the School of Philanthropy of the New York Charity Organization Society¹ and to serve on its Committee on Instruction. She organized the first full semester course on family rehabilitation, and gave it herself for three years, until in 1912 the School engaged Porter R. Lee as full-time instructor in casework. In 1914 she was the Kennedy Lecturer at the School. The subject she chose was First Steps in Social Treatment. There was such a demand for tickets that she gave the series of three lectures three times to three different audiences that filled the Assembly Hall of the United Charities Building. Brief courses and single lectures were given frequently in other training schools for social workers and to students in

¹ In 1897 she had read a paper at the National Conference on "The Need of a Training School in Applied Philanthropy," and she had participated in the courses and in plans for the development of the New York School from its beginning as a six weeks' summer class in 1898.

colleges. In this teaching Miss Richmond developed the case-system method of instruction already in use in law schools, and all of it was part of the preparation that went into her book, *Social Diagnosis*.

Field work was recognized to be an essential adjunct to classroom instruction in training social workers. To provide favorable conditions for practice by students of the New York School, the Foundation in October, 1908, made a supplemental grant to the Field Department that it might meet the extra expense¹ involved in developing one of the district offices of the Charity Organization Society as a "model" district for the purpose. The district (Clinton) remained under the control of the Society, but for teaching purposes it was supervised by the committee responsible for the Field Department, of which Miss Richmond was chairman. When the Charity Organization Department was established, Miss Richmond continued her supervision of the training center and the Department contributed to the expense from its own budget. During the five years covered by these arrangements 133 students received their field training in Clinton District.

An experiment in June, 1910, was the foundation of the series of Charity Organization Institutes, held annually from 1910 through 1922, of which Miss Richmond said in 1917: "No other single undertaking of the Department has brought more immediate or satisfying results." Each year she invited 20 executives and caseworkers in charity organization societies in about as many cities to come to New York for "an advanced four weeks' course of training under the leadership of the staff of the Department."² Methods were informal: seminar sessions of guided discussion, personal conferences, individual and committee work on special topics, participation in projects under way in the Department³ and in the Association. By 1917 there were 156 "graduates"

¹ For larger staff, more space and equipment and supplies, and a greater outlay for incidental items.

² Including Mr. McLean, who was a member of the staff at the time of the first Institute, and who when he became secretary of the Association was regarded as an honorary member of the Department in his relations to the Institute.

³ Some of the groups helped gather material for sections of *Social Diagnosis*. When the book was in typescript it was passed around chapter by chapter for criticism.

of the Institute. Their "college spirit" and their appreciation of the four weeks with the Department testified to the value of this venture in teaching.

In October, 1911, the year after the first Institute, Miss Richmond invited the supervisors of casework in "about a dozen" of the large societies to a two-day conference to discuss their "difficult and unsolved problems." After a lapse of three years this conference was repeated in 1915, and it too, like the Institute, became an annual event. The Supervisors' Conferences, said Miss Richmond, did not come strictly under the head of "teaching," for all who took part were themselves teachers, but many of the plans worked out in them were used in teaching later.

It would be hard to mention anything Miss Richmond did that was not teaching or preparation for teaching. Her public addresses and printed articles, her unrecorded discussions, her letters and office interviews, even her casual conversations, had a quality that stimulated the minds of others and illumined their thinking. Learning and teaching were her delight.

THE YEAR 1916-1917

In the Charity Organization Department the final year of the Foundation's first decade was the natural end of a period not so much because of interruptions occasioned by the war as because of internal conditions. Publication of *Social Diagnosis* left Miss Richmond free for new undertakings. Mr. Hall was finishing his work on *Financial Federations*. The Charity Organization Institute and the Supervisors' Conference were established annual events. The *Charity Organization Bulletin*, in its eighth year, continued to be a confidential medium of communication with the charity organization societies of the country. Many projects of earlier years had been rounded out or transferred to other auspices. Moreover, the best contributions that the Department could make to winning the war were in its own line of writing, teaching, and counseling in its own field, and could best be done, for the most part, from its own offices.

XII

REMEDIAL LOANS: 1909-1917

WHEN Arthur H. Ham became a member of the staff of the Foundation on August 1, 1909, his assignment was "to make a study of the Remedial Loan Associations in this country, to give advice to societies already established as to methods of work, and to give advice to those who wish to know about the formation of new societies."

Remedial loan associations were limited-dividend companies that lent money in small amounts at rates high enough to cover legitimate costs of operation and to yield a fair return on the capital invested, but no higher. They exemplified the principle of "philanthropy and 6 per cent," which combined a desire to supply good facilities with operation on sound business principles.¹ Their founders recognized that under modern conditions of life many persons who had no banking facilities needed at times small temporary loans. They knew what hardships were caused by the methods of unscrupulous moneylenders who exploited their necessities. By entering the field as competitors they hoped to force down charges and generally to improve the tone of the small loan business, which had been little affected by restrictive legislation, exposures in the press, or prosecutions.

Remedial associations for making loans on chattel mortgages or pledges of personal property were operating successfully in a dozen cities. The Provident Loan Society of New York, established in 1894, charging interest at a rate much lower than the law allowed, paying 6 per cent interest to the contributors of its capital, and using its surplus for expansion, had grown until it handled a substantial part of the pawnbroking business of the city. The ratio of licensed pawnbrokers to population had decreased, and some of the larger pawnbrokers were now charging rates, at least on larger loans, not much higher than those

¹ In the list of suggestions for the possible use of a large sum of money submitted by Mr. de Forest to Mrs. Sage in December, 1906, three of the ten were enterprises of this character. (See p. 7.)

charged by their "philanthropic" competitor. Believing that competition of the sort they offered was the most promising weapon against the usurious moneylender, the "remedial associations" in June, 1909, had united in the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations, which had for its object the multiplication of such associations.

When Russell Sage Foundation appointed Mr. Ham as its agent, it relieved the Federation of the necessity for conducting propaganda or even maintaining an office. Mr. Ham acted unofficially as its executive secretary. Within a few weeks the Federation by formal action began turning over to him all requests for information. From 1909 through 1918 he edited the proceedings of its annual meetings and the Foundation met the cost of publication.

PRELIMINARY PERIOD

For a year or more Mr. Ham worked in the office of the Provident Loan Society under the immediate supervision of Frank Tucker. Requests for information led within a year to active correspondence with persons interested in problems of small loans in more than 125 cities and to the establishment of several new associations. Assistance was given in promoting legislation in the District of Columbia and in Maryland.

A superficial investigation of the 18 incorporated chattel loan companies in the state of New York, in November, 1909, indicated that some of them were acting in violation of the law and that their reports to the Banking Department and the Department's annual examinations did not reveal their actual condition. Following an interview by Mr. Ham with Governor Hughes, the Superintendent of Banks gave him permission to accompany an examiner in a thorough investigation of these companies. Enough evidence was obtained to warrant revoking the licenses of four companies and bringing action by the Attorney General against two others. It appeared, furthermore, that the existing law did not give the Superintendent of Banks sufficient discretionary power for proper supervision. An amendment was drafted by Mr. Ham, which became law in April, 1910.

In New York City at this time there were about 300 chattel loan and salary loan lenders operating in violation of the law and charging interest at the rate of 10 to 20 per cent a month. Mr. Ham investigated many cases of extortion that came to his attention. In some he arranged equitable settlements. Several he referred to an attorney for use as test cases. He urged the appointment of an assistant district attorney to prosecute offenders. He proposed to the Retail Dry Goods Association that its members enter into an agreement not to discharge employes merely because they had assigned their wages as security for loans and not to honor claims filed by loan companies against their employes, and that the Association undertake to defend employes of its members who were imposed upon by these companies.

In October, 1910, the Foundation created a Division of Remedial Loans in its permanent structure, with Mr. Ham as director, to carry forward and enlarge the work that had been started.

PROMOTION OF REMEDIAL SOCIETIES

For several years the Division continued to promote actively the formation of new remedial societies and the improvement of those in existence. The number grew, as indicated by the membership of the National Federation, from 14 in 1909 to a maximum of 40 in 1915.

The Division published and distributed the proceedings and bulletins of the National Federation; prepared the tabular statement of the operations of its members that was issued annually; was largely responsible for planning its programs; developed a system of accounting and office procedure for such societies; framed model forms of financial report, by-laws, and prospectus; acted as a clearinghouse of information for the societies and the public; and assisted in training new managers as needed.

One of the new associations was the Chattel Loan Society of New York, which not only was created on the initiative of the Division but received financial backing from the Foundation. It seemed clear that there was need in New York of an agency to make loans on household furniture, conducted on the same principles as the Provident Loan Society in the pawnbroking field. It

would serve, furthermore, as a laboratory for determining what charges were necessary and developing other details of operation. In January, 1911, a plan prepared by Mr. Ham was presented to the Trustees of Russell Sage Foundation. At their April meeting they voted to subscribe \$100,000¹ to the capital of the proposed Society, provided not less than \$100,000 should be subscribed by others and that sound management be guaranteed by the appointment of a board and a business manager satisfactory to the Trustees of the Foundation. The Chattel Loan Society of New York began business on February 19, 1912, with a capital of \$200,000, of which \$96,500² was subscribed by the Foundation. Mr. de Forest was president, Mr. Ham secretary, and several trustees of the Provident Loan Society were members of the board.

Incidental to the promotion of new societies, campaigns to enlighten the public as to the methods of loan sharks were carried on, usually in co-operation with local chambers of commerce and family welfare societies. In most of the cities where such campaigns were conducted, public meetings were held and newspapers gave generous space to exposure of current practices and discussion of remedies. Opportunities to reach a nationwide audience were found in such occasions as meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Legal Aid Societies, the Academy of Political Science, and in the pages of magazines. A motion picture play, *The Usurer's Grip*, was prepared in 1912 and produced by the Edison Company.

LOAN SHARKS IN NEW YORK CITY

As the Division continued its investigations into usurious practices in New York City it became by force of circumstances the leader in a war against them. Hundreds of instances of illegal exploitation came to its attention. Borrowers were informed of

¹ This was not a grant. It was an investment out of capital funds, on the terms authorized by Mrs. Sage in her letter of gift. The first dividend, at the rate of 3 per cent, was paid in 1915; 4 per cent was paid in 1916, 1917, and 1918; and 6 per cent thereafter, plus extras in three years on account of unpaid dividends in the early years. In January, 1925, the Society was sold to commercial interests at a profit. Receipts by Russell Sage Foundation, including dividends and profit, amounted to an average return of 5.2 per cent a year over the entire thirteen years 1912 through 1924.

² Twenty shares (\$2,000) were shortly afterward transferred to another stockholder.

their legal rights and advised to refuse payment of usury. Evidence that was collected led to prosecutions and convictions. The interest of the Legal Aid Society and of volunteer lawyers was enlisted to defend some victims, and on occasion the Division furnished bond for bail. Test cases were carried to the Court of Appeals. Frequently an equitable settlement could be arranged without resort to legal remedies. Successful prosecutions disposed the companies to make satisfactory settlements in cases which the Division had investigated.

Newspapers gave hearty co-operation to the crusade. In the summer of 1911 the New York Globe devoted several columns daily to reports of developments, invited borrowers to report complaints, and retained a firm of attorneys to help them in obtaining settlements. At the suggestion of Mr. Ham, the Commissioner of Accounts of New York City, Raymond B. Fosdick, made an investigation in 1911 of the loan business as it affected city employes, which substantiated the Division's conclusion as to the extent and character of the business.

Following the proposal made by Mr. Ham to the Retail Dry Goods Association the previous year, a conference of the leading employers of labor in New York City was arranged in May, 1911, in co-operation with the Merchants' Association, at which resolutions were adopted embodying the policies advocated in the original proposal and supporting the enactment of laws which allowed a reasonable rate of interest on small loans and provided for the licensing of lenders under the supervision of a state department. After this meeting many of the large firms rescinded their rules of discharge and in other ways changed their attitude toward employes who got into difficulties with loan companies.

By 1912 the leading newspapers of the city, except the New York World, were refusing to accept advertising of illegal money-lenders, and the amount in the World had been cut from a usual four columns to one-half of one column. Owners of reputable buildings were refusing to take loan companies as tenants.

Through the efforts of the Division a bureau for the prosecution of usury cases (which had been urged since 1910) was established by the District Attorney of New York County. In January,

1914, Walter S. Hilborn was appointed to take charge of the bureau, on the recommendation of the Foundation. Mr. Hilborn had been retained by Gimbel Brothers to defend their employees against the claims of loan sharks, and was conversant with the devices employed to evade the existing law. He built up careful cases, many of which became important precedents. In his first nine months assignments against city employees fell to one-third their previous number. Among the important convictions obtained in the first year was one that resulted in imprisonment of a notorious operator. Jail sentences had been imposed before this on clerks and agents of some companies, but this was the first instance in New York¹ of imprisonment of a principal.

Persistent watchfulness, energetic and intelligent prosecutions, convictions—particularly when they resulted in imprisonment, enlightenment of borrowers, education of employers, newspapers, and the general public, combined to make the business of the extortionate moneylender more hazardous and less lucrative. On May 5, 1914, the last loan-shark advertisement disappeared from the New York World, which in December, 1910, had carried 66 column inches and which was the last of the important New York papers to drop that source of revenue. In October, 1914, Mr. Ham reported that not one of the loan-shark offices operating in the city when the Division was established was now making loans, as far as was known. Openly, at least, the business had been eliminated. In other cities also substantial progress had been made, though by no means in all.² The crusade in New York was a demonstration of what could be done to reduce and control the evil in the existing legal framework.

¹ In 1912 a Milwaukee judge had sentenced a millionaire usurer to ninety days. After this courts in other cities began to show a disposition to be more severe.

² In Chicago a survey was made in 1916 under the auspices of the Department of Public Charities for the purpose of collecting "a concrete array of facts" that would "open the eyes of the community" to the methods of the loan sharks and the volume of their business. The survey, conducted by Earle E. Eubank, disclosed that there were at least 229 loan companies in the city, doing an average annual business of about \$11,000,000, and that interest rates were approximately 120 per cent a year. Mr. Eubank's report was published in the Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, May, 1917, and was reprinted by the Foundation in June, 1917, in a 16-page pamphlet called Loan Sharks and Loan Shark Legislation in Illinois. With the help of the facts disclosed by the investigation, passage of the Uniform Small Loan Law was accomplished in Illinois in 1917.

LEGISLATIVE REGULATION

Parallel with the fostering of remedial associations and obtaining enforcement of existing laws to the extent of their applicability, constant study was given to determining what kind of legislation would be effective in controlling commercial companies and allowing them to do business legitimately instead of driving them under cover or exterminating them. It was clear that the small loan business was an essential element in our financial machinery, to meet the needs of the large part of the population who could not give the kinds of security required by banks. Limited-dividend companies could never be numerous enough, or large enough, to fill the demand. If the commercial business could be regulated and purged of its abuses, it would meet a genuine social need and would become a respected part of the modern economy. The statutes enacted with this intent before 1910 had failed of their purpose for one reason or another.¹

One of the items Mr. Ham included in his tentative program for the first year after the Division was established was "the drafting of an effective law for the regulation of the business of lending money upon pledge or mortgage of personal property or the assignment of wages." The law was not drafted that year, but progress was made in deciding what it should contain. Its essential features² would be a reasonable rate of interest, fair alike to borrower and lender; and supervision and control at the hands of a state department, with full reports to it of all transactions.

From 1910 Mr. Ham followed legislative proposals in all the states, and influenced the course of many of them. He was consulted when provisions of the Massachusetts law of 1911 were being framed. In New York in 1911 a bill drafted "as a suggested outline" was introduced in the legislature but was not urged for passage, and a bill was passed to establish an investigating com-

¹ A full account of the development of regulation from the earliest attempts through the year 1934, as well as a historical review of the small loan business, is contained in *Regulation of the Small Loan Business*, by Louis N. Robinson and Rolf Nugent, published by the Foundation in 1935.

² As reported by Mr. Ham to the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations at its annual meeting in June, 1911.

mission but was vetoed by the Governor because of the appropriation it carried of \$10,000 for expenses.

Gradually the major emphasis of the Division's work shifted to participation in campaigns for regulatory legislation. Sixty bills were introduced in 24 states in the year ending June, 1913. "To defeat the passage of seriously defective bills and bills clearly drawn in the interests of the high-rate moneylenders, to keep track of all bills introduced, to carry on an active correspondence with legislators and others interested in twenty states, to attend legislative committee hearings whenever possible, criticising bills introduced, suggesting amendments, giving information regarding laws in force in other states and preparing new bills for introduction," said Mr. Ham in his report on The Year's Progress to the National Federation in June, 1913, "has required considerable time and effort." Constant vigilance was necessary to thwart attempts to nullify or emasculate good features of laws on the books.

Gradually, too, as a result of study, discussion, and experience, ideas as to the content and form of a satisfactory law became crystallized. By 1913 the Division of the Foundation and the National Federation's Committee on Legislation, of which Mr. Ham was chairman, had agreed on eight provisions that seemed fundamental: (1) licensing of all lenders charging more than the legal rate of interest for banks; (2) bond to insure observance of the law; (3) adequate interest rate (2 or 3 per cent a month, reckoned on unpaid balances), but no fees, or, if fees were allowed, safeguards against repetition; (4) enforcement and supervision by a public officer; (5) penalties for violation; (6) notice to employer and consent of wife in case of assignment of wages; (7) adequate records, inspected by supervisory officer; (8) memorandum of transaction and copy of pertinent sections of law to be given each borrower.

In the following year, 1914, New Jersey enacted a measure drafted by Mr. Ham, the so-called Egan Act, which embodied these principles and was the basis for legislation in other states.¹

¹ In 1916 the State Commissioner of Banking and Insurance characterized it as "the most important piece of financial legislation ever enacted in New Jersey."

Mr. Ham not only drew the bill but also carried the burden of leadership in the campaign for its passage. It was stubbornly opposed by the moneylenders but was carried through without compromise. With this experience the Division began to assume a more aggressive policy: not merely giving counsel on request, but taking the lead in drafting legislation, helping to organize support and to strengthen understanding of the reasons for each provision, guarding the bill in its progress through the legislature from amendments that would cripple or defeat its intentions.

The type of legislation recommended was opposed not only by the high-rate moneylenders who held that untrammelled competition should be trusted to control the business, but also by a very large part of the public who could see no reason for a higher rate of interest on a small loan, whatever the nature of the security, than the regular legal rate. It was comparatively easy to expose the illegality and immorality in the loan shark's activities, to show the inequality in bargaining power that put the borrower at the mercy of the lender, and to recite instances of shocking results of unregulated competition in this corner of economic life. It was more difficult to convince the public and legislators of the necessity for permitting higher charges than were legal for ordinary business loans and to determine what the charges should be.

When the National Federation was formed there was little precise information as to the cost of conducting a business that made small loans on the security of wages or personal property. It was assumed that a rate of 2 per cent a month was probably high enough to cover operating expenses and a return of 6 per cent on capital invested. Through the uniform records kept by members of the Federation, and later by the licensed agencies in states adopting regulatory laws, better data for a judgment were accumulated. The practical effects of early laws were an even stronger kind of evidence. It was found that a maximum rate of 2 per cent a month, unless fees for certain costs were permitted in addition, resulted either in bankruptcy or in defiance of the law. Reputable capital was not attracted to the business and legitimate concerns could not meet the demand. A brief

experience in permitting fees, to supplement a monthly interest charge of 2 per cent, demonstrated that it was not practicable to safeguard borrowers against duplication of such charges. A flat rate of 3 per cent a month, without fees, was therefore favored by the Division. It was incorporated in the New Jersey law of 1914 and in the laws of several other states, but not without determined opposition from well-meaning but unrealistic friends of the small borrower as well as from high-rate lenders.

Following the enactment of regulatory laws, the licensed moneylenders in several states formed state associations for mutual protection and to raise standards in the business. In April, 1916, they united in a national body, called the American Association of Small Loan Brokers, which had a membership of about 325 companies.¹ Its object, in the words of its chairman addressing the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations in 1917, was "to standardize, dignify, and police the small loan business." "We are as much opposed to loan sharks or unfair and oppressive moneylenders," he said, "as is the National Federation." One of the first matters considered by the Association was the draft of a model small loan law.

Cordial relations were early established between the new association, the National Federation, and Russell Sage Foundation. Mr. Ham, as a representative of both the Federation and the Foundation, was invited to attend a meeting of the Association in September, 1916, to discuss modes of co-operation. In October a three-day conference was held in his office, at which representatives of the three organizations discussed thoroughly every point at issue in the draft of a model law. After further negotiations at another three-day conference in November, 1916, agreement was reached on the general form of a Uniform Small Loan Law.

In all important respects this draft conformed to the specifications drawn up by the National Federation in 1913. The Uniform Small Loan Law permitted a flat interest rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per

¹ At this time the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations had 35 members and its membership was declining in consequence of the spread of regulatory laws and the multiplication of commercial companies conducted on fair principles. Only 5 new remedial societies were organized after 1914, in comparison with 24 in the years 1910-1914, the period of active promotion by the National Federation and Russell Sage Foundation.

cent a month and prohibited fees or any other charge. It recognized the differences between small loan companies and banks: that the former have no deposits but must do business on their own capital; that their security is neither substantial nor fluid; that their loans require more investigation, more bookkeeping, and more expensive systems of collection; and that reputable capital would not be attracted to the small loan business unless there were a prospect of profit above the high expense of operation. It recognized also the necessity of protecting the borrower: providing that he understand the terms of the loan, have a receipt for all payments, and a means of recovery in case of overcharge; and giving superintendents of banking supervisory authority with powers and facilities for compelling observance of the law. Henceforth, with amendments from time to time as dictated by experience, it was the basis for legislation promoted by the American Association, the National Federation, and the Foundation. In 1917 it was introduced in the legislatures of four states.¹

CREDIT UNIONS

Suppression of loan sharks, creation of remedial loan associations, and regulation of commercial companies did not suffice to meet the special financial needs of persons of small income. Co-operative credit associations, which since their origin in Germany in 1849 had spread over many European countries and India and Japan, and since 1900 had multiplied in Canada, were attracting interest in the United States. As early as 1911 the Division of Remedial Loans began to receive inquiries about savings and loan associations from large employers and requests for advice about organizing them among their employees.

Alphonse Desjardins, "the founder of co-operative banking on the American Continent," was a journalist of Levis, Quebec. After studying the European credit unions for twenty years, he organized a Caisse Populaire or People's Bank in his home town, with a membership of 90 and a paid-in capital of \$28. Its success confirmed his enthusiasm and he became a missionary for the

¹ For later developments see pp. 337, 342, 534.

idea, traveling through Quebec and Ontario and helping to establish similar co-operative credit societies in many places. With his assistance the first credit union in the United States was organized in 1909 in a parish of French-Canadian cotton-mill operatives in Manchester, New Hampshire. In the same year Massachusetts, on the initiative of its Bank Commissioner, Pierre Jay, enacted a law drafted by Mr. Jay and M. Desjardins, permitting the incorporation of co-operative credit societies, known as credit unions, and providing for their supervision by the Bank Commissioner.

In 1912 the Division of Remedial Loans engaged a special investigator, Cary W. Hayes, to make a study of the employers' loan funds and employees' co-operative savings and loan associations in existence in the United States. Mr. Ham spent a week studying the Canadian associations in Quebec and conferring with M. Desjardins. Promotion of credit unions¹ then became a major activity of the Division, gradually taking the place of its work for remedial loan associations as the spread of effective regulatory legislation diminished their importance. Credit unions, composed of persons acquainted with one another, not only gave their members a source for loans on exceptionally favorable terms but they discouraged unwise borrowing, gave practice in business administration, stimulated thrift, and promoted community spirit. They were equally adapted to urban and to rural communities.

Following Mr. Ham's visit to Quebec in the summer of 1912, M. Desjardins, on invitation of the Division, came to New York in October for conferences and addresses, and later wrote a pamphlet on the movement in Canada.² The conference of governors devoted a session of its meeting in the fall of 1912 to the subject and appointed a committee to draft a uniform bill that might be adopted by all the states. With the help of Mr. Jay, who had come to New York as vice-president of the Bank of the Manhattan Company, of M. Desjardins, and of Leonard G.

¹ A credit union was defined in *A Credit Union Primer* (see p. 148) as "a co-operative association whose objects are: (1) to promote thrift among its members; (2) to provide its members with credit facilities."

² *The Co-operative People's Bank (La Caisse Populaire)*. 1914.

Robinson, general manager of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, who since 1911 had organized 18 credit unions among farmers in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, Mr. Ham drafted a bill providing for the organization of credit unions in the state of New York under the supervision of the Banking Department. Copies were supplied to members of the committee of governors. The bill became law in May, 1913.¹ The first credit union organized under it was formed in January, 1914, by employes of Bing & Bing, Inc., in New York City.

In 1914 *A Credit Union Primer* was prepared by Mr. Ham, in collaboration with Mr. Robinson, and was published about the same time as the pamphlet by M. Desjardins.² It was described as an elementary treatise on co-operative banking, containing questions and answers concerning methods of organization and operation, necessary books and forms, suggested by-laws, and the text of the Credit Union Law of New York. A selected bibliography on Co-operative Credit was published by the Library of the Foundation in June, 1914, in its series of Bulletins.

At first no special effort was made by the Foundation to stimulate the organization of credit unions. It was thought advisable to wait until more experience had been accumulated. Nevertheless many requests were received for advice from persons interested in the idea, and help was given as far as possible. In the winter of 1914-1915 a plan was prepared for the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment in New York City, and at the request of Julius Rosenwald a brief survey was made in the Chicago plant of Sears, Roebuck and Company, resulting in a recommendation that a credit union be formed in one selected department and its progress studied before a general policy was adopted for the whole plant. By September, 1915, without any special stimulation, 19 credit unions were in operation under the New

¹ Revised in 1914 and again amended slightly in 1915. In 1916 the State Superintendent of Banks referred to it as "highly creditable to the state" and said that "to a considerable extent" it was "being used as a model for such legislation in various parts of the country."

² A Yiddish translation, made by Morris Caesar, was published by the Foundation in 1916.

York law, 11 in New York City and 8 in other places in the state. So much interest had developed almost spontaneously that it seemed to the director of the Division that "one or two experienced organizers could succeed in a comparatively brief period in bringing about the organization of a substantial number of credit unions."

Invitations to speak and write on the subject were accepted when feasible. Three addresses by Mr. Ham were printed as pamphlets. One of these was given before the New York State League of Savings and Loan Associations in 1915; one at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Indianapolis in 1916; and one at the conference of eastern co-operative societies called in New York by the Co-operative League of America in 1917.¹ An article by Mr. Ham that appeared in the New York Sunday Times on May 7, 1916, was reprinted by the Foundation for use in correspondence.² This was a reply to Myron T. Herrick, who was publicly criticizing the credit union laws in existence and urging that they be "wiped off the statute books." His prominence and the wide circulation given his writings and speeches on this subject seemed to call for a rejoinder. The reply, by briefly analyzing the laws and the experience under them, effectively answered his objections. Another brief publication of this period was a practical contribution to the procedure of credit unions.³

REVIEW

By 1917 "the loan-shark evil" was "quite generally understood and appreciated" and it was believed the time was approaching when the greatest evils of the business were "in a fair way to be eliminated."⁴

¹ Credit Unions and Their Relation to Savings and Loan Associations, People's Banks, and The Credit Union and the Co-operative Store, all by Arthur H. Ham and published in 1915, 1916, and 1917 respectively.

² The Object of the Credit Union: A Reply to Myron T. Herrick.

³ Determining Credit: A Suggestive Method for Credit Committees of Credit Unions, devised by R. S. Hale, superintendent of the Special Research Department of the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, and in use by the Industrial Credit Union of Boston. 1916.

⁴ Mr. Ham, in his report on The Year's Progress at the Ninth Annual Convention of the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations in May, 1917.

In the work of the Division of Remedial Loans emphasis had shifted. Beginning with exposure of the hardships confronting small borrowers, and promotion of limited-dividend loan associations as both a measure of relief and a demonstration, the Division soon became involved in the defense of borrowers and in prosecution of loan sharks under existing laws.

As it became clear that existing laws were not effective, attention was turned to a plan of control based on recognition of the small loan business as an essential element in our financial system. For a few years education of the public to this idea, chiefly through the promotion of laws permitting reasonable interest rates under state license and supervision, was a leading part of the program. The Uniform Small Loan Law, as agreed upon late in 1916, represented results of the search for satisfactory principles of regulatory legislation. At this time fairly satisfactory laws were in force in six states. In 1917 the uniform draft was introduced in four more. It was expected that, with the support of the organized licensed lenders of the country, as well as of the remedial associations and the Foundation, progress in the enactment of regulatory legislation would now go forward more rapidly.

Remedial loan associations had increased in number from 14 in 1909 to 40 in 1915 but in the next two years had declined to 35. To the extent of their resources they still performed a valuable service to their clients. They had served as a laboratory for collecting the data on risks and costs that were indispensable in framing proper legislation. Through their National Federation they had supplied a forum for discussion of procedures and policies and a nucleus for national educational propaganda.

The chief cause of the decrease of remedial loan associations in number and in importance was the rise of a body of licensed lenders regulated by the new laws. In 1917 there were about ten times as many of them as of the limited-dividend societies. Although regulatory legislation at first was bitterly opposed by commercial moneylenders, many of them had become its strong supporters. They had found that it not only decreased losses and expenses and permitted a fair return on investment, but that it

was raising the tone of the business by eliminating the loan sharks and making it attractive to men of high character and correct business methods. The 325 licensed lenders affiliated in the American Association of Small Loan Brokers were committed to the support of the Uniform Law. The ideal of the Division of Remedial Loans for the small loan business—that it should be recognized as a legitimate and necessary factor in our economy and by dissociating itself from exploiting practices should win for itself a respected position—was well on its way to realization.

From the time of their introduction into the United States in 1909, credit unions attracted much interest. In 1917 there were 111 in operation: 56 in Massachusetts and 39 in New York,¹ the two states that had enacted enabling legislation, 14 in North Carolina, one in Rhode Island, and one (the pioneer) in New Hampshire. They had demonstrated their practicability and their social value, encouraging thrift and promoting a co-operative spirit as well as supplying a need for small loans. The lines for state legislation were clear, policies and procedures for individual unions were being tested. In the program of the Division it was proposed to give a prominent place to promoting the organization of credit unions in the state of New York.

¹ Including the Municipal Credit Union of New York City, which at the end of 1945 had 24,244 employees as its members and assets of \$6,783,344.

XIII

WOMEN'S WORK—INDUSTRIAL STUDIES: 1910-1917

IN NOVEMBER, 1910, when the Committee on Women's Work became an integral part of the Foundation, it had in view a comprehensive survey of the conditions of employment of girls and women in New York City. Three parts of such a survey—studies in the bookbinding and millinery trades and the making of artificial flowers—were already well advanced, and plans had been made to collect information from the girls attending public evening schools in the city for the help it would give in deciding what other intensive investigations would be most useful and for the light it might throw on the problems of industrial training for girls.

BACKGROUND AND METHODS

This program was the natural development from a series of studies begun in 1905 by Miss Mary van Kleeck as a fellow of the College Settlements Association. Her investigation in 1905-1906 of overtime required of girls in New York factories led to a study of child labor in the tenements of the city, and to the creation by the Alliance Employment Bureau in 1907 of a department of industrial investigation and her appointment as its director. From January, 1908, the Foundation supported the investigations of this department and of the independent committee that succeeded it, and in November, 1910, incorporated its staff and program in the Foundation.

It was not only these antecedents that determined special attention at this time to the problems of women workers. The number of women in industry was growing rapidly, but public opinion had not yet accepted the fact. Their need of training for unaccustomed occupations was not generally recognized. Exact

data on the conditions under which they worked were scanty, but it was common knowledge among those interested that in general wages were low, hours long, provisions for health and comfort far from adequate. The women themselves had shown little disposition to organize for the purpose of improving their conditions, but apprehension as to probable effects on their health and on home life and the welfare of children had given rise to proposals for protective legislation. To win acceptance of these proposals and to point the way to other measures a body of authoritative facts was needed.

It was the object of the Foundation's Committee on Women's Work to provide such facts as a guide for public opinion and as a stimulus to desire for progressive changes and for more facts—"not in defense of any one program of reform, nor as a contribution to economic theory," to use Miss van Kleeck's words written in 1917, "but rather in the faith that the community itself must discover its own program of action and that common knowledge is the foundation of wise public opinion." Discovery of facts and accurate, disinterested reporting of them, rather than propaganda, were the chosen methods.

In selecting subjects, three principles were followed, with a view to making the Committee's resources¹ accomplish as much as possible. Investigations were chosen that would be carried on co-operatively and so serve as a stimulus to studies by other agencies; that would reveal causes rather than merely superficial manifestations; and that would lead to the discovery of methods and principles for action of more than local applicability. Their influence on current thinking as to standards and practice affecting women wage-earners on measures under discussion was also an important consideration. Each investigation was designed to be complete in itself and also a unit in a comprehensive survey of women's work.

Developing methods for this type of research, training a staff, keeping in touch with other investigations, and promoting interest in women workers by speaking and writing, were essential aspects of the work from the start. As firsthand knowledge of

¹ Annual expenditures did not reach \$10,000 in any year before the war.

conditions accumulated, and as the Foundation's studies became known, an increasing amount of time was required for service on committees, conference and correspondence with persons making investigations in the same field or promoting remedial measures, testifying at hearings, giving assistance to legislative commissions, and in various other ways putting to use the facts and experience that had been gathered.¹

BOOKBINDING

The study of women in the bookbinding trade that was nearing completion in November, 1910, had been undertaken in the spring of 1908 by the research department of the Alliance Employment Bureau. There were various aspects of this trade that commended it as a choice. It was one of the important trades for women in New York City. It gave employment for all grades of workmanship, from artist-craftsman to machine-tender and errand girl. It illustrated the competition between outmoded handwork and new machine processes. Some of its branches offered extreme examples of irregular distribution of work through the year and even through the week, and excessive overtime at busy periods. Night work was common. Some of the women belonged to the trade union, but most of them were not yet convinced that there was any advantage in organization. It would have been hard to find a trade that illustrated more of the problems besetting women workers and that therefore would be more instructive to study.

The compelling reason, however, for studying this trade at this time was that in June, 1907, the Court of Appeals of New York had affirmed the decision of lower courts declaring unconstitutional a law that prohibited night work for women in factories.² The test case involved a woman on a night shift in a bindery, and the decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court had contained the following passage, which to ears that would hear

¹ It was not long before the invitations to speak that were declined outnumbered those that could be accepted.

² *People v. Williams*. Court of Appeals. 189 N. Y. 131, 81 N.E. 778 (1907).

sounded like a clear challenge for facts bearing on the point at issue:

In order to sustain the reasonableness of the provision, we must find that, owing to some physical or nervous difference, it is more harmful for a woman to work at night than for a man to do so; for concededly, the clause in question would be unconstitutional if it applied to men as well as to women. We are not aware of any such difference and in all the discussions that have taken place none such have been pointed out.

A preliminary report by Miss van Kleeck on the investigation was published in October, 1910;¹ the full report in January, 1913.² Based on the industrial history of 201 women workers and information from all the binderies in Manhattan, the book gave a vivid picture of the varied conditions prevailing in the trade and pointed the way to raising standards through legislation, voluntary action by employers, co-operation of employees, and consideration by customers. Effective prohibition of the employment of women at night and some rational plan for training the younger girls were two of the concrete proposals that seemed to have a clear claim for regulation.

Meanwhile, before this book was published, the Factory Investigating Commission had been created by the legislature of New York. In its second report, published later in 1913, it used Miss van Kleeck's findings about conditions in binderies as evidence of the need for legislation. In particular the facts about night work, together with data gathered by the Commission in other occupations, were cited in support of a new law³ prohibiting the employment of women in all factories of the state between the hours of 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. After this law was passed the Commission discovered, with the aid of one of the Foundation's investigators, an instance of violation in a bookbinding establish-

¹ "Changes in Women's Work in Binderies," in *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* (New York), 1910, volume on *The Economic Position of Women*.

² *Women in the Bookbinding Trade*.

³ An Act to amend the labor law, in relation to protecting the health and morals of females employed in factories by providing an adequate period of rest at night. March, 1913.

ment. This case was used to test the constitutionality of the law, which was finally affirmed by the Court of Appeals in March, 1915.¹ In thus reversing its decision of 1907, the Court declared:

In view of the incomplete manner in which the important question underlying this statute—the danger to women of night work in factories—was presented to us in the Williams case, we ought not to regard its decision as any bar to a consideration of the present statute in the light of all the facts and arguments now presented to us and many of which are in addition to those formerly presented, not only as a matter of mere presentation, but because they have been developed by study and investigation during the years which have intervened since the Williams decision was made.

Part of the evidence submitted to the court, in a brief by Louis D. Brandeis and Josephine Goldmark, had been quotations from *Women in the Bookbinding Trade*. This, indeed, was the only information available about the occupation and the locality from which the test case had been taken.

MILLINERY

An inquiry into conditions in the millinery trade in New York City was undertaken at the same time as the study of bookbinding, in the spring of 1908. It originated in a request to the Alliance Employment Bureau from the managers of the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, who were doubtful whether it was wise to continue training girls for so seasonal a trade.

Graduates of the Trade School's millinery classes and their employers were interviewed. The inquiry was then extended to graduates of other training courses and to milliners trained wholly in shops. Methods of training in vogue were studied. Reports were made at intervals to the Manhattan Trade School. As a result the School adopted the policy of giving applicants for training in millinery a full account of conditions in the trade, advising those who must be self-supporting as quickly as possible

¹ *People v. Charles Schweinler Press*. Court of Appeals. 214 N. Y. 395, 108 N.E. 643 (1915).

to choose another occupation. Also it organized a class in lampshade-making to give them a supplementary resource in slack seasons. Two articles based on the information gathered were published¹ but it seemed too incomplete and inconclusive to issue as a book. Irregularity of employment, with its effects on income, was obviously the crucial problem, and that could not be explored satisfactorily without access to payrolls.

In 1914 the opportunity came to round out the investigation. The State Factory Investigating Commission, which was investigating wages with a view to recommending some form of wage legislation, asked the Foundation to gather data for it in the millinery trade. Acting as state agents and using the same methods and schedules as the Commission had adopted in other trades, the staff of the Committee on Women's Work obtained records of approximately 4,000 milliners. A report was made to the Commission.²

For its own purposes the Commission later interviewed a sample of the workers and employers covered in the examination of payrolls. On the basis of all the data collected from 1908 through 1915, and material available from other sources, a comprehensive report was prepared on the diversified conditions prevailing in the millinery trade in New York City.³ This was the fourth book resulting from the studies in women's work.

ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS

The third study under way in the fall of 1910 was of conditions in the artificial flower industry. Three-fourths of the artificial flowers produced in the United States were made in New York City. The industry was of interest primarily because of its extensive employment of homeworkers in the tenements. Furthermore, under favorable conditions it might give scope for artistic ability,

¹ "How Girls Learn the Millinery Trade," by Alice P. Barrows and Mary van Kleeck, in *The Survey*, April 16, 1910; and "The Training of Millinery Workers," by Alice P. Barrows, in *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, 1910.

² *Wages in the Millinery Trade*, by Mary van Kleeck. Published by the Commission as a 110-page pamphlet in December, 1914, and incorporated as an appendix to the Fourth Report of the Commission, issued in 1915.

³ *A Seasonal Industry*, by Mary van Kleeck, 1917.

since it was one of the few trades in which handwork predominated and was likely to continue.

Preliminary field work was begun in the spring of 1910. Information was obtained from employers in all the artificial flower shops in the city, from 174 women employed in the shops, and from 110 homeworkers. Two questions were kept uppermost in the investigation: the effect of the homework system on the workers and on the trade; and the possibility of courses of training to develop the latent artistic opportunities in the occupation. A brief inquiry was made for the Foundation in Paris by Miss Elizabeth S. Sergeant, for the light it would throw on reasons for the acknowledged superiority of French workmanship and on the kind of training that might increase the artistic quality of the American product. The report was published as the second in the series.¹ "How to raise the standards of workmanship" was seen as the chief problem, and the homework system as "the greatest enemy of artistic work."

While this study was in progress the director served as United States reporter on homework for the International Association for Labor Legislation, and as adviser to the New York State Factory Investigating Commission in its inquiry on homework. She was a member of the committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation that considered proposed amendments to the New York State constitution, and she testified at hearings before the Industrial Relations Committee of the Constitutional Convention in 1915, when it was considering an amendment explicitly giving the legislature power to deal with the homework system. In 1917 she testified before a committee of the state Senate on a bill to prohibit homework in the artificial flower trade.

WORKING GIRLS IN EVENING SCHOOLS

While the first three "type-studies" of trades were in their early stages, a bird's-eye view of the working girls in New York City was obtained through the public evening schools. With the co-operation of the associate superintendent and the principals, a

¹ Artificial Flower Makers, by Mary van Kleeck, 1913.

card was filled out in the fall of 1910 by every English-speaking girl who was present at the time of the inquiry, giving information about her occupation at the time and previously, her hours of work, schooling, subjects studied in evening schools, and such items as age, country of birth, and number of years in the United States.

Over 13,000 cards were complete enough to be used. That represented about a third of the total registration for the year, and 84 per cent of the average attendance. Records of length of attendance during the year were obtained in the spring from the teachers' roll books. Visits were made to 260 of the girls at their homes in the spring and summer of 1911, and others were interviewed later in connection with other investigations. This study¹ in various ways illuminated the investigations of particular trades. Though in no sense an investigation of the instruction provided in the evening schools, it contributed to an understanding of the problems of industrial education. One of its by-products was the introduction in 1912 of a uniform record system in the elementary evening schools, based on suggestions made by the Committee at the invitation of the associate city superintendent in charge.

ITALIAN WORKING WOMEN

Two new intensive studies were undertaken in 1911. One was a fourth "type-study"—of machine-operating in the dressmaking trade, which employed large and rapidly increasing numbers of women in New York City. A considerable amount of preliminary work was done on this study in the following year, but it was then laid aside because of plans within the industry for an investigation of its own.

The other was not a study of conditions in a selected industry, but of conditions surrounding working women of a selected nationality, whatever their employment. Italians were chosen because of the heavy immigration from Italy, and because the charges of responsibility for low wages, long hours, child labor,

¹ Working Girls in Evening Schools, by Mary van Kleeck, 1914.

overcrowding, and blocking the progress of trade unionism, made indiscriminately against the "new" immigration in general, were often directed specifically against the Italians. These charges had frequently been heard by the Committee's investigators in connection with its other studies.

For this study a representative Italian neighborhood on the lower west side of Manhattan was selected, and a room in Richmond Hill House, a social settlement on Macdougall Street, was used as headquarters. The investigation, under Miss van Kleeck's direction, was in charge of Miss Louise C. Odencrantz, who had taken part in the field work of previous studies and had been the Committee's statistician since 1908. The staff included an Italian woman and another who spoke Italian and was intimately acquainted with the neighborhood. It was begun in December, 1911.

In the next eighteen months over a thousand Italian women wage-earners were interviewed, 271 factories where they worked were visited, the living conditions of 544 families were studied, records of total income and itemized expenditures in the calendar year 1912 were obtained from 48 of the families, and sample weekly budgets from 147 women not living at home. A supplementary study by the International Institute of the Young Women's Christian Associations, based on visits to 894 Italian women arriving alone at Ellis Island, gave additional insight into their problems in the first weeks after landing. While these studies were in progress Miss van Kleeck served on the board of managers of Richmond Hill House and on committees of the International Institute.

Publication of the report was delayed until after the war: first by such emergency work as co-operation with the Factory Investigating Commission; then by participation in the Springfield Survey and the resignation of Miss Odencrantz as of January 1, 1915, to become superintendent of the Women's Department of the Brooklyn branch of the New York State Employment Bureau; and later by the urgency of special inquiries connected with the war.

DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAM

Although the name of the Committee on Women's Work was not changed to Division of Industrial Studies until 1916, it was in the summer of 1914 that its scope was broadened.¹ The investigations of women in industry had led to the conclusion that their problems were largely phases of industrial and social conditions affecting both men and women. From this time on, although some inquiries by their nature or circumstances were limited to women, the governing consideration in selecting topics for investigation was the contribution they promised to an understanding of fundamental industrial problems. When the new name was adopted in November, 1916, it was formal recognition of the enlarged scope.

SICKNESS AMONG WAGE-EARNERS

The first study that involved men as well as women was undertaken as a contribution to current discussion of the need for compulsory health insurance and the problems likely to be encountered in developing it. In 1913 the first conference on social insurance in the United States had been held at the call of the American Association for Labor Legislation. The Association was now engaged in the first campaign in America for health insurance under state auspices, and had asked the Foundation to help in assembling facts necessary as a basis for such legislation. The study undertaken by the Foundation was an inquiry into the social effects of sickness in the families of wage-earners. It was begun in October, 1914.

As a preliminary, a brief study was made in the Social Service Department of the Massachusetts General Hospital. At the end, to round out a view of the resources of wage-earners in meeting the emergency of sickness, the methods and spirit of certain fraternal societies were examined. For the body of the study information was gathered from the case records² of 690 families

¹ The "Committee" soon dropped its advisory responsibilities and had long since ceased to exist as an organized body, though as individuals its members continued their interest.

² Supplemented by visits to some of the homes.

under the care of the Charity Organization Society and the United Hebrew Charities, each containing one or more sick wage-earners; and from histories obtained by Dr. Anna M. Richardson, a physician on the investigating staff, of 539 working men and women who applied for treatment at the dispensary of Cornell University Medical College.

Besides concrete evidence of the importance of sickness as a factor in poverty and dependence, the study revealed the prevalence of working conditions unfavorable to health, the need for better adjustment of occupation to physical capacity, and the inadequacy of provisions for care of the sick in New York. A by-product of the study was the appointment of Dr. Richardson by the Charity Organization Society as a special medical adviser in one of the Society's districts. Furthermore, the physicians in charge of the dispensary where she had worked became convinced of the need for more knowledge about the working and living conditions of their patients.

Preliminary results were presented by Miss van Kleeck at a legislative hearing in Albany in March, 1916, when a bill providing for health insurance was under consideration. At the Social Insurance Congress in Washington in December, 1916, she discussed *Some Problems in Sickness Insurance for Women*.¹ Preparation of a comprehensive report was delayed by pressure of work connected with the war.

TRAINING OF SOCIAL WORKERS

A circumstance that may have reinforced the tendency to widened scope, manifest in the program adopted for 1914-1915, was the acceptance by Miss van Kleeck of appointment on the staff of the New York School of Philanthropy. As an experiment in vocational training, the School's experiences might have a certain applicability to vocational training for industries. But the great attraction of the position was the opportunity it offered for giving social workers of the future an insight into industrial

¹ Published in the Proceedings of the Congress. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 212, June, 1917.

problems and through them influencing public opinion. To do this obviously required a comprehensive view of the entire field.

For three academic years, from September, 1914, through June, 1917, Miss van Kleeck was a member of the staff of the School in full standing, while continuing her work at the Foundation. She gave a general background course on industrial conditions for the first-year class, supervised the field work of second-year students specializing in industrial research and held a seminar for them, participated in staff meetings, lectured in institutes, and in every way shared the responsibilities of the full-time members of the teaching staff.

Some of her advanced students for their field work took part in investigations she was directing for the Foundation, and several of them became valued members of her staff. A number of them later held important positions in social work.

A series of diagrams prepared for use in her course on industrial conditions was published by the School in 1915 in a pamphlet called *Facts About Wage-Earners in the United States Census*. It was in demand also for similar courses in other institutions. On behalf of the School and the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations,¹ Miss van Kleeck, in collaboration with the director of the School, in 1915 supervised a study of positions in private social agencies in New York, with special reference to nature of duties, salaries paid, and preparation required. A summary of the results was published in *The Survey* for January 1, 1916, and a full report in pamphlet form later.²

Two pamphlets published by the Foundation early in 1916 were especially useful to students, although they were not issued exclusively for that audience. One of them³ contained an article by Miss van Kleeck, reprinted from a college fraternity magazine, on the place of industrial investigation in the program of Russell

¹ The Intercollegiate Bureau, of which Miss van Kleeck was president, had in 1913, in co-operation with the School and Russell Sage Foundation, opened a branch for social workers (see p. 238). Out of this developed, in 1917, the National Social Workers' Exchange, in which also Miss van Kleeck had an active part.

² *Positions in Social Work*, by Edward T. Devine and Mary van Kleeck. New York School of Philanthropy, 1916.

³ *Industrial Investigations of the Russell Sage Foundation*, with bibliography. 1916.

Sage Foundation, together with a bibliography, prepared by the Library, of all its publications dealing with industrial problems. The other¹ was an annotated list of the published reports of the 64 most important investigations of particular industries in Greater New York made from 1905 through 1915, intended especially to be of use in connection with industrial education, vocational guidance, and placement work.

Enrollment in the courses on industrial problems grew and general demands on the staff of the School increased, until in the spring of 1917, after three full years of teaching, Miss van Kleeck found that it was encroaching too heavily on the time needed for her work in the Foundation and resigned her position in the School.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Irregularity of employment, with consequent fluctuations between overwork and idleness, was a troublesome factor in the trades studied by the Foundation. Such unemployment was primarily a problem for management. Unemployment arising from individual inefficiency was also encountered. That was a problem for training, vocational guidance, and placement agencies. In the summer of 1914, as the depression associated with the outbreak of war in Europe deepened, general unemployment became conspicuous in New York.

Under the auspices of Mayor Mitchel's Committee on Unemployment, appointed in December, 1914, Miss van Kleeck took an active part in the work of several subcommittees: on investigations, which had the satisfaction of seeing a system installed by the State Department of Labor in co-operation with the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics for collecting information regularly as to the number of employes and amount of wages paid in the manufacturing industries of the state;² on uniform records for public and private employment exchanges; on scholarships,

¹ Investigations of Industries in New York City 1905-1915, compiled by Henriette R. Walter. Published jointly by Committee for Vocational Scholarships of the Henry Street Settlement and Russell Sage Foundation, 1916.

² From this beginning was developed the method of collecting employment and payroll statistics that later (see p. 388) was generally adopted in the United States.

which arranged with the public schools to organize classes that would be useful to unemployed working girls, and with social agencies to provide scholarships for girls who could not attend unless they had some financial help; and in effecting the organization of the Federation of Non-Commercial Employment Bureaus, public and private, which was consummated in December, 1915. She was a member of the Mayor's Second Committee on Unemployment, appointed in January, 1916.

As a member of the Social Service Advisory Committee of the Municipal Lodging House, appointed by Commissioner Kingsbury early in the depression, Miss van Kleeck helped especially in collecting and studying descriptive data about the lodgers.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN THE CIGAR INDUSTRY

Under the enlarged program a series of studies was contemplated of the problems, methods, and results of trade unionism. As the first of the series an investigation of the cigar-making industry was undertaken in the summer of 1916. Ben M. Selekman, one of Miss van Kleeck's students, who was added to the staff on July 1, began the field work. In the following winter several students assisted in gathering material, as part of their work in the School. Mr. Selekman's work was interrupted first by his transfer to a more pressing assignment and later by a leave of absence for participation in war work. The inquiry was continued by J. Bradley Buell, who had shared in it while he was a student in the New York School of Philanthropy.

There were many reasons for choosing this industry for the first study of the operation of collective bargaining. The Cigar Makers' Union was one of the oldest in the American Federation of Labor. It was famous for its benefit funds, including one that provided payments during illness. The industry employed both men and women. There were both large shops and small. It illustrated effects of immigration and of the introduction of machinery, and it was found both in large cities and in small towns. Furthermore, the co-operation of the union officers was assured. They had promised access to minutes of meetings and other documents.

By the summer of 1917, in spite of interruptions, much of the reading had been done, 245 workers had been interviewed, records had been obtained for 27 factories, including some data from payrolls, and conferences had been held with employers, representatives of the union, and others connected with the industry. Demands made by the war upon the Division and its director prevented the completion of this study for publication, but it contributed useful background material for future studies of industrial relations.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES INVESTIGATION ACT OF CANADA

Another investigation, of a different kind from any made previously, was undertaken in 1916. Its object was to meet an immediate need for specific information, and for the first time the facts sought were not in New York City.

During the summer of 1916, when a nationwide railroad strike was threatening, and again during a strike on the street railways of New York, frequent references were made to the Canadian Act of 1907, which made it illegal to declare a strike or a lockout in mines or other public utilities pending investigation by a board appointed by the Minister of Labour. Advocates and opponents of similar legislation for the United States were equally sure of their position, but their arguments consisted largely in general statements that it had "established industrial peace" or on the other hand had resulted in "compulsory servitude." As it was expected that bills modeled on the Canadian law would be before Congress in the winter, it seemed desirable to find out how it had worked in the nine years it had been in operation.

Mr. Selekman was assigned to collect such facts as could be obtained from printed material and through correspondence. In the fall he went to Canada, where he studied documents on file in the Ministry of Labour and interviewed officials, employers, trade unionists, chairmen of boards appointed under the Act, editors, and other men in public life whose views would be enlightening.

The facts justified neither the enthusiasm of American proponents of the Act nor the wholesale condemnation of its critics.

It had not abolished strikes, and the penalty for illegal resort to them had not been invoked, but it had operated as a voluntary conciliation measure. Both its successes and its failures were suggestive for the United States. Results of the study were published in an article in *The Survey*, March 31, 1917, which was reprinted by the Foundation and issued as a pamphlet, with statistical tables and a bibliography added.¹

INDUSTRIAL STANDARDS IN WARTIME

Long before the United States entered the World War orders from abroad had turned the brief "war depression" of 1914-1915 into a period of labor shortages, rising wages, and still more rapidly rising prices. Accepted standards of hours and other conditions of work were disregarded, or at the best were endangered.

An article by Zenas L. Potter² on Bridgeport as a "war boom town" was published in *The Survey* on December 4, 1915. A little later Miss van Kleecck was consulted by an official of the Remington Arms-Union Metallic Cartridge Company about the housing of the several thousand girls who were expected to come to Bridgeport to work in the munitions factories. This led to a brief survey in Bridgeport in the summer of 1916, "to find out what war orders mean to girls in this country." The study was in charge of Miss Amy Hewes, head of the department of economics of Mount Holyoke College and formerly secretary of the Minimum Wage Commission of Massachusetts. She was assisted in the field work by Miss Henriette R. Walter, of the Division's regular staff, and in compiling her report by Miss Alzada Comstock, a member of her department at Mount Holyoke.

Through interviews with workers in the largest munitions plant in Bridgeport, information was obtained about 164 women and girls, most of whom were living with their own families. The company refused permission to investigate conditions in the plant. The facts obtained from workers, at home and elsewhere, were ample to show the presence of overtime and night work and dangers from industrial accident and disease, the failure of wages

¹ *Industrial Disputes and the Canadian Act*, by Ben M. Selekman, 1917.

² Of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits.

to keep up with the soaring cost of living, and the problems arising from congestion of housing, transportation, and recreation facilities. The study also brought out what had been done to relieve conditions and what more might have been done. Results were published in an article in *The Survey*, January 6, 1917, and more fully in a book issued in the following August.¹

This book was a timely warning to other war-industry towns. Besides the description of conditions in Bridgeport it contained a summary of reports by the British Ministry of Munitions on the experience of England in trying to increase production by lengthening hours and omitting days of rest and on the reasons for the spectacular success of France in increasing its output. The summary of British documents had been printed a few months earlier as a pamphlet.² It was widely distributed immediately after the United States entered the war, when demands for suspension or relaxation of labor laws were general. Great Britain's experience was eloquent testimony that such action would defeat its purpose, and that standards of working conditions established in normal times were essential to sustained production under the stress of war.

A LOOK BACK FROM 1917

From the "watchtower" of the Division of Industrial Studies the first decade of the Foundation's existence was seen "crowded with events of significance in labor and industrial relations." The director reviewed them briefly in her contribution for the decennial report of the Foundation. Summarized still more briefly, they included: rapid progress in legislation to protect women and children and to provide compensation for industrial accidents; a tendency toward a shorter legal maximum working day; favorable court decisions on laws regulating the hours of women's work; a beginning in minimum-wage legislation; improvement in sanitary codes; more efficient administration of labor laws; progress in vocational education; multiplication of public em-

¹ *Munition Makers*, by Amy Hewes and Henriette R. Walter.

² *Munition Workers in England and France*, by Henriette R. Walter.

ployment bureaus and the near prospect of a co-ordinating United States Employment Service; development of personnel departments and scientific management; growing strength of trade unionism and increased participation of women; and on the other hand, mounting "industrial unrest," which arose largely from the growing dissatisfaction of working men and women over the small part they had in determining their working conditions.

Against this background of events the industrial investigations of Russell Sage Foundation had been carried on. "The Foundation," said Miss van Kleeck, "is concerned with the labor movement from the viewpoint neither of employers nor of workers, but as representing the public interest. The public interest may sometimes square with the interest of workers, and sometimes with the interest of employers. Sometimes it may be in conflict with the immediate interests of both. Conflicts are inevitable, but the important thing is that employers, workers, and the public should understand the facts and know the tendencies involved in action. The Foundation has tried to describe the facts, and . . . its investigators have sought not to influence conclusions, but to help to establish the habit of making facts, rather than prejudice or self-interest, the basis for conclusions."

Five books and two substantial pamphlets recording major investigations had been published by September, 1917. Two other major investigations had been completed, one of which would make a sixth book as soon as there was time to finish the writing. Still another study of major scope was in progress. Minor investigations had been reported in periodicals or through the publications of other agencies. Material from the studies also had been freely used in magazine articles and had been put at the disposal of organizations, committees, and legislative commissions in whatever form would be most useful. Hundreds of public addresses had been given; hundreds of individuals and agencies had been helped in plans for investigation or for action; and scores of young people looking forward to social work as their profession had been given a background of knowledge about industrial problems.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

Beginning with studies in women's work in New York City, the program had been deliberately widened in 1914 to explore a problem affecting both men and women, and in 1916 to begin a series of studies in a problem fundamental in all industries, the interrelations of employer, employee, and the state. From 1916, moreover, the studies were no longer confined to New York City. This extension in geographical scope came about not as a deliberate change of policy but simply because studies that seemed to be needed at the time had to be made in other localities.

As a consequence of the entrance of the United States into the war it happened that the end of the first year of the Division of Industrial Studies under its new name found it once more engrossed by its original subject of investigation, women's work.



*Architectural detail from the north façade,
Russell Sage Foundation Building*

XIV

STATISTICS: 1911-1917

ALTHOUGH the Division of Statistics was not established until October, 1912, its work began under a less formal arrangement a year earlier, when Mr. Ayres, in addition to his responsibilities as director of the Division of Education, undertook to supervise and edit the statistical features of the Foundation's studies. To assist him a statistician was added to the staff. The first appointment was temporary. In February, 1912, Earle Clark was named to the position, which he filled until September, 1917.

The primary functions of the Division, at the time it was established, were to scrutinize the statistical material in all manuscripts considered for publication by the Foundation, with a view to improving the form of presentation as well as correcting errors; and to advise members of the staff on the statistical aspects of studies they had under way or might undertake in the future. As far as time allowed, help would be given to persons outside the Foundation who asked advice on statistical research.

WORK ON MANUSCRIPTS

Examination of manuscripts under consideration for printing included checking and correcting figures and computations, revising tables and diagrams, reviewing the procedures that had been followed in collecting and tabulating the data, and considering the validity of conclusions drawn from the facts presented.

By the fall of 1911 several reports intended for publication had reached the stage where they needed statistical editing. One of these, the first to come to the Division, was the San Francisco Relief Survey. Written by several persons, based on records of various kinds and different degrees of reliability, it required an exceptional amount of work to verify statements, rewrite tables,

and condense the volume of statistical material. Because of the numerous changes made independently by the several authors in different parts of the country, it was necessary to re-examine, and frequently to revise, the statistics in galley proof and again in page proof. There is no record of the number of hours spent by the statistical office on this manuscript, but "elapsed time" extended over eighteen months. If confirmation had been needed of the wisdom of providing expert advice, from start to finish, on the use of quantitative material in studies sponsored by the Foundation, it would have been supplied by this experience.

Thereafter, services of a similar sort, but in most instances less onerous, were performed for all manuscripts as they came under consideration for publication. Sometimes the advice given resulted in radical reorganization of material, revision of conclusions, or even a decision not to publish. As time went on, and consultation began at earlier stages in the progress of the studies, less work was required on the completed manuscript.

STANDARDS OF STYLE

Progress was made during the first year in formulating standards of style for tables and diagrams. In 1913 a tentative manual was prepared for office use and the principles that had been adopted were applied in current work.

The principles relating to diagrams soon had a wider field of usefulness than the offices of the Foundation. For instance, on the initiative of Willard C. Brinton, of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, a Joint Committee on Standards for Graphic Presentation was formed, composed of representatives of 15 scientific societies and two bureaus of the federal government. Mr. Brinton was chairman. Mr. Ayres, representing the American Statistical Association, was elected secretary. A statement of the standards in use in Russell Sage Foundation was supplied to the Committee and Mr. Clark gave active service on the subcommittee that did the preparatory work in formulating rules and standards.

A preliminary report, agreed upon by the Joint Committee, was published in the quarterly journal of the American Statis-

tical Association in December, 1915. The rules and illustrative diagrams were subsequently incorporated in textbooks on statistical method and gradually became the accepted standard for elementary graphic presentation.

ASSISTANCE ON STUDIES IN PROGRESS

Members of the staff were quick to take advantage of the consulting statistical service provided in 1912, and to get advice on their studies at as early a stage as possible. On new studies collaboration might begin with consideration of general plans; follow on through preparation of schedules and decisions as to methods of analysis and presentation, to interpretation of the material; and end only when the final proofs had been passed. In many cases tabulations and computations could now be prepared by the Division itself in the first instance, tables could be set up and diagrams drawn while manuscripts were being written. The computing machines of the Division were at the service of the other offices.

A list of the Foundation studies that received some attention from the statistical office from February, 1912, until September, 1917, would include practically all the studies in progress that incorporated statistical material. It would include also some studies that were not made with publication by the Foundation in view. In the summer of 1912, for instance, the Division of Recreation was engaged in preparing standards for classifying school boys for athletic competition. The Division of Statistics contributed an evaluation of the several criteria in use, based on an analysis of data on some 1,100 boys. Members of the staff frequently asked the Division for help in matters for which they had responsibility by reason of connection with other agencies. A schedule for an occupational census of college women is one instance of this sort. Manuscripts of books and proofs of government reports submitted to members of the staff for criticism were frequently referred by them to the statistician for examination.

Direct requests for help were received from outside agencies from the beginning. Truancy in Boston, effects of participation in athletics on naval cadets and officers, methods of computing

infant death rates, statistical records for insane asylums, methods of cost accounting for New York prisons, record cards for the Charity Organization Society of New York, classifications as to race and nativity in a school census, home conditions of Negro school children, social and religious conditions in rural communities in Iowa, labor troubles in Colorado, statistics from federal income-tax returns, features for the annual report of the New York City Children's Court, infant mortality in Baltimore, child labor in the beet fields of Colorado—this list may serve as a sample of the topics on which statistical help of one kind or another was given. In 1915 Mr. Clark served as chairman of a subcommittee¹ on a central office for recording cases of feeble-mindedness in New York City.

TEACHING AND WRITING

Mr. Clark assisted Mr. Ayres in his laboratory course in educational measurements at the Summer School of New York University in 1912. In the fall of 1914 he conducted a 30-session course in statistical methods offered for city employes by the Extramural Division of New York University. In addition to his anonymous share in many books, pamphlets, and articles, Mr. Clark published four articles over his own name during the time he was the Foundation's statistician.² Independent investigation was not one of the functions of the Division of Statistics when it was established. When Mr. Ayres undertook the Cleveland Survey in 1915, however, he asked Mr. Clark to make a study of the finances of the Board of Education. Mr. Clark spent several weeks in Cleveland at the beginning of his study, collecting material, and another week after his report was in shape, discussing his findings with the educational authorities, but most of the work was done in the office of the Division, in New York. The report was published in December, 1915, as one of the Sur-

¹ Of the New York City Committee on Provision for the Feeble-Minded.

² "The Buying Power of Life Insurance," in *The Annalist*, April 28, 1913; "An Index Number for Educational Progress," in *American School Board Journal*, September, 1914; "The Course of Real Wages in the Textile Industry," in *The Annalist*, November 24, 1914; "Contributions to Urban Growth," in the *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, September, 1915.

vey Monographs. Many of the recommendations were adopted by the Board of Education.

Both Mr. Ayres and Mr. Clark were asked to participate in the survey of school finances of the city of Boston conducted by the Boston Finance Commission in 1915-1916. Mr. Ayres contributed a report on the cost of school buildings. Mr. Clark made a comparative study of school expenditures in Boston and other large American cities. In 1916 the Division of Statistics began the basic work for two contemplated publications of countrywide interest in the field of education: one on public school revenues and expenditures in the cities of more than 30,000 inhabitants of the United States; the other on the funded indebtedness of the public school systems of the larger cities.

CLOSE OF THE PERIOD

By 1916 the volume of statistical criticism and revision required by publications of the Foundation was much less than it had been in previous years. Since early in 1915, although there had been no increase in the staff of the Division,¹ Mr. Clark had been spending a substantial part of his time on his own studies connected with the Cleveland Education Survey and the Boston survey of school finances, and the Division now had under way its first major independent projects.²

The first phase of the Division's history seemed to be drawing to a close. It had been created to serve as a handmaiden to the rest of the Foundation. At that time the Foundation's studies consisted largely in collecting information about social conditions and passing it on to the public. The use of statistical methods and devices was both convenient and necessary. It was the aim of the Division to bring into conformity with sound practice all the statistical work done in the Foundation and to present the statis-

¹ Throughout this period the usual complement, in addition to Mr. Ayres and Mr. Clark, had been one statistical assistant and one stenographer.

² See above. While these were studies in the field of education, they are reported by the Division of Statistics as its projects, and seem to have been suggested by Mr. Clark's studies in Cleveland and Boston. The fact that Mr. Ayres was director of both divisions, and the further fact that the work of the Division of Education was largely statistical, combine to blur the dividing line between the two divisions.

tics "not merely in such a way that they may be understood, but in such a way that they cannot be misunderstood." In the years 1912-1916 it established standards for the use of statistical material in the Foundation's studies, from procedures in gathering and tabulating the facts to presentation of results in tables and diagrams. Its objects were validity in methods, mathematical accuracy, correct interpretation, and clear, harmonious, attractive presentation.

In anticipation of its tenth anniversary the Foundation in the spring of 1916 began preparation of a decennial report. The general director asked Mr. Clark to assemble the material and draft the manuscript. For the following year, until he went to Washington with Mr. Ayres for war work, he spent most of his time on the history. He resigned as of September 1, 1917, to take charge of the newly created statistical department of the Du Pont Powder Company. No successor was appointed at the time. Both the Division of Statistics and work on the history were suspended.



*Architectural detail from the east façade,
Russell Sage Foundation Building*

XV

SURVEYS AND EXHIBITS: 1912-1917

LIKE Child-Helping and Charity Organization, Surveys and Exhibits began as a full-grown department. Its scope and methods had been defined in advance. Its director and his associate were experienced. A demand for such services as it offered had already accumulated. Its budget of \$15,000 was less than the \$25,000 that had been considered a norm for the major departments but it was anticipated that this would be supplemented by contributions of service from other departments and that the cost of surveys and exhibits made under its direction (except for the salaries of department staff) would be met largely by their local sponsors.¹ Established in 1912, it was at work only five years in the Foundation's first decade.

PURPOSE AND PROCEDURES

Stated briefly, the object of the Department was to study and develop the social survey and the social exhibit as tools for community improvement. The purpose, wrote Mr. Harrison several years later, "was something more than the centralizing of inquiries regarding surveys and exhibits. Behind that was a conviction that the survey, including the exhibit and other popular methods of educating the public, was proving a sound and effective measure for preventing and correcting conditions that are wrong, and for quickening community forces that are showing promise. It was recognized that important changes in our national life and community relationships . . . had brought new problems calling for study, and that in dealing with the new needs the usefulness of the survey as an organized method of

¹ It was estimated that in the fifteen months ended December, 1914, contributions by the communities concerned to the expense of surveys and exhibits directed by the Department amounted to about \$15,000 in cash, not including large amounts of free service by local officials, agencies, and private individuals. There is no record of the money value of participation by members of other departments of the Foundation.

social discovery and analysis, and the exhibit as an agency for popular interpretation, had been demonstrated." The aim always, as Mr. Harrison said in one instance, was not to humiliate the city but to inform it.

Activities ranged from collecting information about surveys and exhibits and making it available, studying methods and publishing practical helps, keeping a file of the qualifications of investigators and directors; through assistance in planning surveys and exhibits and in organizing local backing for them; to actual conduct of surveys and preparation of exhibits. "Assistance" might be limited to a single talk or letter, or it might involve correspondence extending over many months and visits of several days for conferences on the spot, including public addresses. Surveys and exhibits were undertaken only on invitation from responsible local bodies. It was a cardinal principle to enlist from the community not merely financial support but also personal participation in the work by as many of its citizens as possible.

The surveys conducted by the Department might be preliminary inquiries, to determine whether conditions for a survey were favorable, to estimate the cost, and to map out the main lines. They might be investigations of a single topic, or of a few topics selected from a comprehensive coverage. Or finally, they might be general and inclusive, examining the state of affairs in all the more important divisions of social welfare. A preliminary, or "pathfinder," survey was a necessary first step. It might stop there, or it might lead to one or more of the other varieties.

The exhibits directed or furthered by the Department also varied greatly not only in size and scope but also in type. Some of them presented the findings of department surveys; others were based on material gathered from many sources expressly for the purpose of the exhibit. They included four main types: large temporary exhibitions serving as the central feature of community campaigns; traveling exhibits designed for durability and for convenience in setting up, knocking down, and transporting; posters, which could be mounted on panels for use in various ways or could be reproduced in smaller sizes for wider distribu-

tion; and special features for the so-called "weeks" that were coming into popularity to focus the attention of a city, sometimes of the nation, on a particular subject, such as safety, child labor, or the care of babies.

Alone of all the departments, Surveys and Exhibits had a small directing committee, of which Miss Richmond was chairman, to share responsibility with the director; and a larger advisory committee, made up of representatives of national agencies, which got together once a year to discuss topics of common interest. It differed from the other departments also in the nature of its field of operations. Each of the others had as its field a particular social problem. Any survey or exhibit required a knowledge of all these problems, and a background of standards against which to measure the conditions found in a given place and the existing forces for control or improvement. The Department of Surveys and Exhibits had need of all the wisdom the other departments could supply and it had more occasion than any of the others to call upon its colleagues for specific co-operation in its undertakings.

During the first winter (in February, 1913) Zenas L. Potter, field surveyor, and Franz Schneider, Jr., sanitarian,¹ were added to the regular staff, to assist on surveys. Mr. Potter was a member of the Department until January 1, 1916; Mr. Schneider until the summer of 1917. D. O. Decker was engaged as special agent to investigate municipal administration in several surveys. Miss Mary B. Swain (Mrs. Routzahn from 1914), Miss Annabel Murray (later Mrs. Bryce M. Stewart), and Walter Storey, filled temporary assignments as special agents in connection with exhibits in the opening year and at other times before the war.

FIRST SURVEYS

Six pathfinder surveys were made by the Department in its first year: in St. Paul, Scranton, Topeka, Ithaca, Atlanta, and

¹ This was the period of a new and powerful appreciation of the importance of health in "social and living conditions," and of growing attention to measures by which disease and death could be reduced and the general level of health could be raised. A study of health and sanitation was a basic feature in most of the city surveys.

Springfield, Illinois. The one in St. Paul was made for the directors of the Wilder Charity, and involved no subsequent responsibility for the Foundation. The one in Springfield developed into the general survey that was the Department's largest undertaking. The others led to "limited" or "single-topic" surveys. In addition to the six pathfinders, a public health survey of Newark, paid for by the city, was undertaken at the instance of the Mayor and Council; a "quick diagnosis" was made of a neighborhood in Brooklyn, "to aid church efficiency"; and a "limited" survey of Newburgh, New York, was conducted.

Scranton's pathfinder was made for the Century Club of the city, one of the Department's first clients. Early in the fall of 1912 the chairman of the Club's City Improvement Department called at the office for information about procedure in city surveys. Following further discussions in Scranton and in New York, the Century Club asked the Department to make a preliminary examination of social conditions and to outline the main subjects that should be covered in a survey. Mr. Harrison, Mr. Potter, and Mr. Schneider spent a week in Scranton in March, during which they gathered enough facts to warrant recommending a thorough survey under nine heads. The report, dated March 10, 1913, was printed and distributed by the Century Club.¹ In line with these recommendations, the Club arranged for several special studies in following years.

In Atlanta the initiative came from the Chamber of Commerce. The preliminary survey led to a study of health conditions by Mr. Schneider in the summer of 1913, and a study of the public schools by Mr. Potter the following year. Mr. Schneider in his report² published by the Foundation reviewed the unnecessary loss of life in the city from controllable causes, pointed out "neglected opportunities," and made specific recommendations for the reorganization and enlargement of the Department of Health. Later, on request of the Chamber of Commerce, he drafted an ordinance that would put his recommendations into

¹ Scranton in Quick Review. The Century Club of Scranton, 1913. Also listed as a pamphlet publication of the Department.

² A Survey of the Public Health Situation, Atlanta, Georgia. A report to the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, Committee on Social Survey, 1913.

effect. His report was drawn upon heavily in the health sections of the Atlanta Child Welfare Exhibition, held in November, 1913. Mr. Potter's report on The Public School Situation was submitted to the Committee in August, 1914. It was not printed as a pamphlet, but full summaries appeared in the two leading newspapers.

Arrangements in Ithaca were in charge of the Central Committee for Ithaca Survey, of which Professor Walter F. Willcox of Cornell University was chairman and the Mayor was honorary chairman. After a preliminary examination by Mr. Harrison in the early fall of 1913 the Committee decided to study health and housing. The housing survey was made by an investigator recommended, on the suggestion of the Department, by the National Housing Association. Mr. Schneider was responsible for the health survey. He spent ten days in Ithaca early in 1914. His own field work was supplemented by very substantial co-operation given by Professor Willcox and his students, state and city officials, and other persons interested. His report was sent to the Committee on May 1, 1914, but financial difficulties delayed publication for a year.¹ By that time a number of the recommendations had been put into effect.

The Newburgh Survey covered nine important areas: public schools, public health, housing, delinquency, public library, recreation, charities, industrial conditions, and municipal administration. A survey had been advocated at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce early in 1912 by a Unitarian minister of the city. Some months later the idea was taken up by the secretary of the Associated Charities, who sought help from the Foundation's newly established Department of Surveys and Exhibits. A Survey Committee of 50 citizens was organized. At its request the Department assumed direction of the Survey.

Mr. Potter had general charge of the field work and special responsibility for several sections of the investigation. Mr. Schneider made the investigation into health and sanitation.

¹ A Survey of the Public Health Situation, Ithaca, New York, 1914. Central Committee for Ithaca Survey, 1915.

Mr. Routzahn and Miss Swain prepared and installed a store-window exhibit that displayed the gist of the Survey's findings. Several members of other departments of the Foundation, representatives of other agencies, and local citizens contributed chapters or participated in other ways. The report,¹ illustrated with photographs and placards from the exhibit, was issued as the second pamphlet publication of the Department.²

Another limited survey that had its beginning in the Department's first year was The Topeka Improvement Survey. The name, said Mr. Harrison,³ was chosen "deliberately and advisedly." It expressed the intention of the Survey and its results. During the Men and Religion campaign a survey committee had been appointed, which joined with the Topeka Federation of Churches after its organization to push vigorously the movement for a survey. The Federation financed a pathfinder investigation by the Department. This led to the creation of a General Survey Committee of 52 representative citizens. The Committee raised several thousand dollars, and asked the Department to direct the Survey, preferring that the facts should be gathered and interpreted by outsiders.

Plans were completed in October, 1913, for the four lines of inquiry that seemed most urgent and that could be carried out with the resources in sight: health and sanitation, delinquency and correction, municipal administration, and industrial conditions. Field work was begun before the end of the month. Later special arrangements were made for three other studies included in the original outline, which had been postponed because of lack of funds: a city plan, a recreation survey, and a religious census.

Reports of the four studies for which the Department was responsible were published in 1914 by the Foundation in four substantial pamphlets as Parts I-IV of the Topeka Improvement

¹ The Newburgh Survey: Reports of Limited Investigations of Social Conditions in Newburgh, N. Y. 1913.

² The first pamphlet was a 62-page reprint, under the title The Social Survey, of papers by Paul U. Kellogg, Shelby M. Harrison, and others, read at the April, 1912, meeting of the Academy of Political Science and published in Proceedings of the Academy, July, 1912.

³ "Topeka," in The Survey, August 1, 1914.

Survey.¹ An exhibit prepared under the direction of Mr. Routzahn was displayed in a vacant store in the heart of the business district. In the ten days it was open there were over 10,000 visitors. The Department also gave currency to the findings through newspaper summaries and through reprints of the article by Mr. Harrison in *The Survey* magazine.

To an extraordinary degree this survey was a community enterprise. The city appropriated \$500 and gave office space in the City Hall. Free services were contributed by city and state officials and educational institutions in such generous measure that the resources available for the investigation were greatly enlarged. In a number of ways the "improvement" that was the object of the Survey was realized. One of the concrete accomplishments within a year or two was the construction of a sewer system for the east side of the city, previously "the largest unsewered community in all Kansas." Intangible benefits were expressed as follows in an editorial in the leading daily paper:

The Survey has broadened the foundations of existing welfare organizations and awakened a larger and more sympathetic popular confidence in systematic and organized methods of welfare work, as well as a deeper consciousness of municipal responsibilities and capabilities, a profounder sense of the city's unity.

In the first two years of the Department's existence conferences and correspondence were carried on with persons interested in surveys in more than a hundred cities. When the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation was appointed in 1914 Mr. Glenn and Mr. Harrison were asked to meet with it to discuss plans. At its request the Department's operating committee submitted names of several persons deemed qualified to direct the Survey. One of them was appointed. In Baltimore definite plans for a survey under the auspices of the Social Service Corporation, which had been under consideration for

¹ Part I: A Public Health Survey of Topeka, by Franz Schneider, Jr.; Part II: Delinquency and Corrections, by Zenas L. Potter; Part III: Municipal Administration in Topeka, by D. O. Decker; Part IV: Industrial Conditions in Topeka, by Zenas L. Potter.

some time, were adopted in 1914, but after the outbreak of war in Europe it was thought advisable to postpone the campaign for funds. Plans in Davenport, Iowa, had a similar outcome.

As the basis for a general survey of the status of local public health work in the United States, Mr. Schneider on August 1, 1913, sent a letter to the health officers of cities that had in 1910 a population of 25,000 or more, asking information about their activities under 12 heads. Replies came promptly from about a third. Two subsequent circulars and individual letters brought the number of replies to 219 out of the 227 cities on the list. The material supplied a useful background for the sanitary surveys made by the Department. A report, drafted in the fall of 1915, was published in the *American Journal of Public Health* and reprinted as a department pamphlet in 1916.¹

At the close of the Department's first year a bibliography on The Social Survey was compiled by Mr. Potter, with assistance from the Library. It was published as a Library Bulletin in December, 1913. Two years later a revision was issued, also as a Library Bulletin. The amount of material that had appeared in the two years perhaps exceeded all published prior to December, 1913.

FIRST EXHIBITS

Mr. Routzahn and his assistants were not occupied exclusively in illustrating the surveys made by their colleagues, as in Newburgh and Topeka. Exhibitions on a single theme, designed as the center of an educational community campaign, probably took quite as much of their attention. Whatever the nature of the exhibit, they were constantly studying the methods used for their effectiveness in attracting attention, in imparting a true understanding of the facts presented, in stimulating interest in the subject, in developing participation of volunteers, and in obtaining publicity. The housing and tuberculosis exhibits of earlier years had laid a basis for the development of techniques. Each exhibit directed by the Department was made an opportunity for

¹ A Survey of the Activities of Municipal Health Departments in the United States, by Franz Schneider, Jr.

trying out new ideas and re-appraising devices that had been used before.

Child welfare exhibits were at the height of their popularity when the Department was established. The first one had been held in New York early in 1911¹ and then taken to Chicago, where it was doubled in size. By the fall of 1912 eight cities altogether had had such exhibits and others were planning for them. One of Mr. Routzahn's first services in the Department was to help reorganize a discouraged committee and staff that had been at work for months in Providence. In several other cities the Department assisted by recommending directors or talking over problems. Its chief contribution in this field was the planning and direction of the Child Welfare Exhibition of Peoria, Illinois.

The Peoria Exhibition, held in November, 1913, was initiated by the Child Welfare League of the city. The League raised \$4,000 for expenses. The Department sent a staff of three persons, who spent about three months in preparing the Exhibition and carrying it through. Quite as educational as the exhibit itself was the period of preparation. More than 50 committees of citizens participated. In the spring they began collecting facts, figures, and illustrations. When the time came for putting the material into graphic form the director of design and construction was assisted by committees including architects, artists, photographers, electrical engineers, and other specialists. Many of them also acted as guides to the exhibit while it was open. Other committees helped the publicity director in an educational campaign that used every possible avenue to public attention for a month before the exhibit as well as while it was in progress. Business and professional men and women, club leaders, and city officials wrote letters to colleagues in nearby towns and rural districts inviting them to visit the exhibit.

In the large armory where it was installed the visitors passed around the hall through booths arranged to show in a natural sequence the needs and opportunities of normal children and the city's responsibilities for those who were handicapped and de-

¹ With financial assistance from the Foundation.

pendent. "Explainers" interpreted the exhibits and answered questions. A feature tried for the first time was a play court in the center of the hall, where a continuous demonstration of organized play was presented for the instruction and entertainment of the visitors as they made their tour.

Attendance was estimated at about 15,000, the equivalent of nearly one-fourth the population of the city. All the school children above the fourth grade came to see it under the escort of their teachers. There were many visitors from out-of-town. Many of the volunteer helpers acquired a lasting interest in the problems of childhood. Before the Exhibition closed a number of the committees met to lay plans for utilizing the awakened public interest to meet some of the needs that it had revealed.

An exhibit depicting comprehensively the needs of children and a community's equipment for meeting those needs was a large undertaking. It was expensive and it required months of hard work. Within a very few years the enthusiasm for exhibitions of such a broad character disappeared. Their "real achievement," said Mr. and Mrs. Routzahn later,¹ "was not so much the passing on of definite facts or sets of facts, as the awakening of a previously indifferent community."

Incidental activities of the staff in the first two years included help of various kinds and in varying amounts to many cities and national organizations; service by Mr. Routzahn on the exhibit committees of the National Tuberculosis Association and the International Congress on Social Hygiene; and substantial assistance in plans and negotiations for the social economy exhibits at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco.

THE SPRINGFIELD SURVEY AND EXHIBIT

From a pathfinder inquiry made in the late summer of 1913 for "a few especially interested Springfield citizens" developed the Department's outstanding enterprise in survey-making and its largest and most effective "community" exhibition. It was also one of the best examples of interdepartmental co-operation within the Foundation.

¹ In *The ABC of Exhibit Planning*. (See p. 352.)

The impetus for a survey came from a handful of Springfield citizens who were uncomfortable about various conditions and about the conflicting opinions and general apathy with regard to them. They thought, judging from the effects of a study of certain phases of housing and sanitary conditions made in 1910 by the health officer, Dr. George Thomas Palmer, that a disinterested presentation of facts would settle the conflicts and disturb unwarranted complacency. Soon after receiving Mr. Harrison's report on his preliminary inquiry a Survey Committee of 24 representative citizens was organized to be the moral and financial sponsor for the project. A leading lawyer of the city, state senator at the time, was chairman. The secretary was the executive of the State Charities Commission. The Committee raised \$6,000 for the Survey (including \$1,000 from the board of education and another large contribution from the municipality) and later \$3,500 for the exhibition. Expenditures by Russell Sage Foundation and other co-operating organizations brought the total outlay to approximately \$25,000.

Planning and direction were in the hands of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits, which enlisted the co-operation of six other departments of the Foundation, five other national organizations, five Illinois state organizations, the social agencies of Springfield, and about a thousand local volunteers.

For various reasons it seemed that a survey of Springfield should have a wide influence. As the home of Lincoln and one of the 48 state capitals it could be assumed to have national interest. Its chief claim, however, was that in many respects it was "typical." It was a city of average conditions rather than of extremes. It was one of the 200 cities of medium size in the country, and its population was largely native-born and largely white. It was the trade center for a rich agricultural region and a coal-mining district, and was served by six railroads and a number of interurban electric lines. It had diversified manufacturing and mechanical industries. Not far from the center of population of the country, about midway between the northern and the southern boundaries and between the Atlantic and the Rockies, it had felt the political, social, and economic currents of North

and South, of East and West. Because of the representative character of the city, and to meet the expectations of the sponsoring committee, the Springfield Survey was made as comprehensive and as thorough as possible.

Nine main lines of inquiry were followed, each under the direction of an expert: public schools; recreation; housing; industrial conditions; public health; care of mental defectives, the insane, and alcoholics; charities; the correctional system; and city and county administration. Field work was begun early in March and completed before the end of the summer. The reports were published by the Foundation in separate pamphlets as soon as they were ready: the first, on Public Schools, in June, 1914; three more in November; three in 1915; one in June, 1916; and the ninth in October, 1917.¹ A tenth pamphlet, *The Survey Summed Up*, was part of the plan, but it grew into a full-sized book, which was published after the war was over.²

The nine reports ranged in size from 24 pages for Housing to 185 pages for Charities and also for The Correctional System. They aggregated over 1,200 pages. Before the pamphlets were issued results were given to Springfield through the local newspapers in from 10 to 35 articles on each report, and material of general interest was supplied to the press throughout the country. A thousand copies of each report were given to the Survey Committee. The copies offered for sale were in demand for college classes and other study groups and by agencies engaged in making surveys or investigating particular topics.

In October and November the findings were prepared for presentation in a great exhibit in the state armory. Mr. and Mrs. Routzahn, assisted by Walter Storey, had the directing responsibility. By enlisting the active help of about a thousand residents, organized in more than 40 committees, they made it

¹ In April, 1918, they were brought together for permanent reference in *The Springfield Survey*, vols. 1 and 2.

² *Social Conditions in an American City*, by Shelby M. Harrison. 1920. This volume gave an account of the origin and working scheme of the Survey, summarized the reports, described the exhibition and other methods used to make the results known, and presented several discussions of results of the Survey. It constituted a one-volume report, and was also used as volume 3 of *The Springfield Survey*.

truly a community enterprise.¹ During the two months of preparation, as well as the ten days while the exhibition was open, every conceivable means was used to keep the facts brought out by the Survey before the public. Local newspapers co-operated wholeheartedly, and the newspaper publicity was particularly effective. The exhibition itself presented them in a panorama that could not be misunderstood or ignored. A popular feature, and one that had a considerable development later, was the use of short plays to illustrate some of the conditions and recommendations. There were five of them, each lasting fifteen or twenty minutes. They were given twice each afternoon and evening by a cast of over a hundred actors, in a playhouse seating a hundred spectators, constructed within the armory.

Attendance, as at the Peoria Child Welfare Exhibition, reached a figure approximating 25 per cent of the total population. There were many visitors from the surrounding territory and from more distant parts of the state. A final rally of persons who had helped make the exhibit a success was held just before it closed. "The most contradictory factions in the town were represented," said Vachel Lindsay, "people destined to take opposite sides in many a future argument or political campaign." But they were ready to go on working together to make Springfield a better home for their children and their fellow citizens.

Two years later, in December, 1916, the Survey Committee asked Mr. Harrison to come back to Springfield to confer on plans for getting further results. This was made the occasion for taking stock of what had been accomplished. A list of 40 major improvements recommended by the reports and made since² the Survey was easily compiled. As a result of the conferences a City Club was organized, to succeed the Survey Committee and to be

¹ A full account of the exhibition, including photographs of many features and descriptions of devices that could not be photographed, is given in *The Springfield Survey*, vol. 3, pp. 353-395.

² To avoid the fallacy of *post ergo propter* and the difficulty of tracing ideas and impulses back to the source, no attempt was made to apportion credit for the improvements among the agencies and individuals concerned. An appendix to *The Springfield Survey*, vol. 3, pp. 399-421, presents several considered discussions of Results of the Survey by citizens with different points of view, written in 1916 and 1917—not at the request of the Foundation, but for publication in newspapers or periodicals, for addresses on public occasions, or in reply to an inquiry.

a center for stimulating action recommended by the reports and for continuous study of the city's needs.

PLANS FOR HANDBOOKS

After two or three years spent in accumulating experience in the making of surveys and the conduct of exhibits it seemed almost an obligation to put the results of that experience in a form that would be accessible to others. The increasing number of requests for information and counsel, "received almost daily," made it seem advisable also as a time-saving device. About 1915 work was begun on three handbooks: one by Mr. Harrison on the Social Survey, an over-all guide from first steps through educational use of findings; one by Mr. Schneider on the Sanitary Survey; and a pamphlet on the ABC of Exhibits by Mr. and Mrs. Routzahn.

The pamphlet became a book.¹ Mr. Schneider's book was about half done when in January, 1917, his work on it was interrupted by participation in the Framingham Demonstration. His resignation from the staff of the Foundation in the summer of 1917 prevented its completion, but parts of his material were used in magazine articles, which were reprinted as department pamphlets.² Mr. Harrison's Social Survey Handbook did not work out according to plan, but the original intention found expression in several publications. To meet in some degree the immediate need, pending completion of the handbook, a pamphlet was published,³ based on a paper read at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1916.

SINGLE-TOPIC EXHIBITS

After the Springfield Exhibition the Department turned its attention to smaller exhibits, on single topics, which were in increasing demand. Many of these were designed with a view to

¹ See p. 352.

² "Relative Values in Public Health Work," in American Journal of Public Health, September, 1916. Reprinted as a pamphlet by Russell Sage Foundation, 1916. "Some Shortcomings of Socio-Sanitary Investigations," in American Journal of Public Health, January, 1917. Reprinted, with papers by Donald B. Armstrong and Louis I. Dublin, as a Foundation pamphlet entitled Methods of Investigation in Social and Health Problems, 1917.

³ Community Action Through Surveys, by Shelby M. Harrison, 1916.

being taken from place to place to a number of audiences instead of being set up in one place for a few days and then dismantled. During 1915 and 1916 help was given to national and state organizations on a number of exhibits in this category, representing a variety of subjects. In the course of a year some form of co-operation on exhibits was given in from 80 to 90 cities.

In most cases the part played by the Department was largely advisory. General guidance was given to the staff immediately in charge in its search for material, its development of the story to be told and methods of telling it, and in the construction of the exhibit; and suggestions were made as to ways of using it effectively. In case of the largest of the single-topic exhibits, however, the Department took responsibility for actual preparation. This was the traveling exhibit prepared in 1915 for the New York Joint Committee on Prison Reform and shown in 1916.

Its object was to educate the public on the treatment of delinquents and specifically to arouse a demand for the abolition of Sing Sing and its replacement by an industrial farm prison. Mrs. Routzahn and Mr. Storey spent about four months in planning the exhibit and directing its construction. It consisted of 100 large framed panels, models, and electrical devices. The feature that attracted most attention was a faithful reproduction, in exact size, made by inmates of Sing Sing, of a cell in the century-old cell block, notorious for its dampness and other unsanitary conditions. Flanking it was a huge roll of paper for signatures to a petition asking the Governor and the legislature to replace Sing Sing by an industrial institution in the country. The exhibit was set up in January, 1916, in the Russell Sage Foundation halls. Later it was shown in the principal cities of the state. During the tour over 20,000 signatures were affixed to the petition.

Another traveling exhibit, also to further a legislative campaign, engaged a substantial slice of the Department's time in 1916. Its subject was the nature of feeble-mindedness and provisions for the care of the feeble-minded. It was under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Public Charities Association.

Smaller exhibits, sets of a few panels that could be used widely and inexpensively through reproductions as well as for a

stated occasion, were prepared for a number of agencies. Each of these had its own problems. Two were made for the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness: one to teach workmen how to avoid some of the serious industrial hazards to the eyes; the other, on "babies' sore eyes," to impress on parents the dangers of neglect and an understanding of what should be done. Another, for the Consumers League of New York City, on women in industry, was shown first in the Russell Sage Foundation building to social workers and later in many churches, schools, settlements, and clubs in the city.

Suggestions were made to many communities for their celebrations of Health Week, Safety Week, Baby Week, and other "Weeks" in vogue. One instance was the Pittsburgh Baby Week in 1915, for which plans were outlined and then directed by Mrs. Routzahn. Following this event, the Children's Bureau engaged Mrs. Routzahn to help in preparing its bulletin on Baby Week Campaigns, which was used by many hundreds of communities in the spring of 1916.

LATER PREWAR SURVEYS

Before the last field work of the Springfield Survey was completed the European war was beginning to create conditions in America that were unfavorable to general surveys on such a scale. First the depression of 1914-1915, then the rising prices and the multiplication of insistent new demands, made the problem of financing them increasingly difficult. At the same time interest in surveys was growing at a cumulative rate as reports of their effectiveness became known.

A continuous stream of requests came to the Department for help in planning surveys of many types. From 1915 consultation was the main occupation of the director and his assistants. The cities represented numbered 80 to 90, in from 25 to 30 states and several foreign countries each year. Many of these projects were self-surveys, to discover how standards could be kept up when income was shrinking in purchasing power if not in dollars and how urgent new needs could be met. Those involving large expenditure were postponed when the United States entered the

war, but in several cases plans already had made considerable progress. A memorandum had been prepared, for example, covering scope, method, and cost for a proposed survey of the work of the Grenfell Association in Labrador; and several conferences had been attended, arranged by S. S. Fels of Philadelphia, to discuss the advisability of a survey of Mexico on a large scale.

Two studies made by Mr. Potter were contributed to the series of articles on "War Boom Cities" in *The Survey*: "Bridgeport and Its Munition Workers" and "Penn's Grove and Its Powder Makers."¹ The series, in the words of the editor of the magazine, was designed to picture "the social, sanitary, and labor problems of the more or less artificial communities called into being by the munitions trade towns, which, in their congestion, their lack of recreation and health facilities, their heterogeneous mass of workers, have telescoped in a few months conditions common to all rapidly growing industrial centers." Of Mr. Potter's "incisive article on Bridgeport" the editor said, a year after it appeared, that "it came at an opportune time when civic spirit was in flux, and in part by arousing local ire, in part by gathering up and pointing out potential forces for development, it has measurably affected the history of the past twelve months in this Connecticut town."

These were the last studies Mr. Potter made for the Foundation. He resigned as of January 1, 1916, to take a position in the welfare department of the National Cash Register Company. His place on the staff of the Department was not filled and the amount of work that could be undertaken in 1916 and 1917 was correspondingly reduced.

About a year later Mr. Schneider was lent to the Framingham Community Health and Tuberculosis Demonstration to direct its sanitary survey. The Demonstration was a three-year experiment carried on by the National Tuberculosis Association and financed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The object was to appraise measures for improving general health, and particularly for reducing the amount of tuberculosis, in a community of about 10,000 population. Framingham, Massa-

¹ *The Survey*, December 4, 1915, and February 5, 1916.

chusetts, was the community chosen. The sanitary survey was one of the basic initial steps. It had two main purposes: to provide a record of the status of health and of sanitary conditions (including school sanitation and industrial hygiene) at the beginning of the Demonstration, from which to measure improvements at the end; and to uncover the problems that should be considered in deciding on the program of activities.

Mr. Schneider spent most of his time from February to June, 1917, on the Framingham Survey. The Foundation contributed his salary for several weeks, and also some stenographic service, but the greater part of the cost of his survey was met by the Demonstration. His reports were published and circulated by the Framingham Demonstration.

In July, 1917, Mr. Schneider left the Foundation to help organize a campaign against infant mortality for The Delineator. This left Mr. Harrison with no assistants on the survey side of the Department's work. Because of the general situation it did not seem advisable to fill the vacancies in the staff at that time.

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS

In its opening period, which came to a natural close in the summer of 1917, the main work of the Department had consisted in planning and conducting typical surveys and exhibits, helping to plan many others, and publishing reports and pamphlets that made the results of its studies available. About 40,000 copies of the 29 publications had been distributed.

Like the other departments, Surveys and Exhibits carried on various activities incidental to its central purpose. Office conferences and general correspondence grew in volume from the beginning. In the five years 130 public addresses were given by members of the staff; some 60 articles were written for periodicals, besides a much larger number of news releases summarizing the findings of their investigations; and the Department was represented on upward of 20 committees in its field of interest. Memoranda were prepared in uncounted numbers. They ranged from suggestions as to sources of material, exhibits on view in New York, and where to buy or rent lantern slides or motion

pictures, to a plan for the use of churches in "Know-Your-City" campaigns, outlines for a handbook on civic and social problems issued by the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and a membership-campaign plan for a neighborhood association. Editorial assistance was given to magazine writers and authors of books.

As an informal employment exchange in its field, the Department in the five years recommended some 100 persons for work in surveys and exhibits to inquirers asking help in finding competent assistance. The file it had begun in 1912 held about 175 names by the end of 1917.

Material on surveys and exhibits had been collected from the beginning as a matter of course, and was studied critically. Toward the end of the period some of the photographs of exhibits and clippings illustrating the use of the press were arranged in scrapbooks for convenient consultation by visitors to the office. As a means of keeping in touch with developments in surveys and exhibits, exchanging views with co-workers, and adding to the fund of material for the handbooks under way, the more important national, state, and local conferences and exhibitions were attended each year.

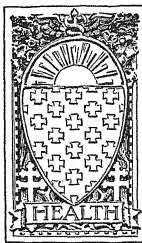
Lists of educational films and lantern slides were prepared and revised from time to time. Advance showings were frequently arranged in the Foundation building for social workers, to get their criticisms before the material was used publicly. For a year or more serious study was given by a subcommittee of the Department's Advisory Committee to the possibility of enlisting the cooperation of scenario writers and producers in making commercial motion pictures more useful as an instrument for spreading information on matters related to the social welfare.

In the five years much had been learned, by experience and by observation, about planning and conducting surveys so as to find out the important facts; about presenting the findings to the community, through exhibits and other means, in such a way as to influence public thinking; and about the technique of organizing, constructing, and managing exhibits. All that was learned was put to use in succeeding projects of the Department and was passed on to others in printed reports and personal conferences.

Plans had been made for drawing out of this mass of experience the principles and methods of general applicability. A handbook on exhibit planning and management was almost ready to print.

As the period drew to a close the competition of urgent new undertakings connected with the war compelled established social agencies to give increased attention to methods of making known their activities and their needs. At the National Conference of Charities and Correction in the spring of 1917 several informal meetings were arranged, in which Mr. Routzahn was a leading participant, to discuss methods of interpreting social work to the public. The program was not concerned particularly with exhibits. It covered a broad range of subjects, such as annual reports, money-raising campaigns, newspaper publicity, and public meetings, from the standpoint of educational efficiency.

In midsummer of 1917 the Department offered its services to the United States Food Administration. From this time until after the close of the war a substantial part of the time of its diminished staff was devoted to service in one or another activity of the federal government.



*Architectural detail from the north facade,
Russell Sage Foundation Building*

XVI

LIBRARY: 1911-1917

IT WAS taken for granted at the outset that the Foundation would need a library, both for the use of its own staff and as a factor in becoming "a center of information." For the first few years the library of the Charity Organization Society, in the same building as the general offices of the Foundation, served the purpose.

NUCLEUS

This collection, begun in 1882 when the Society was founded, had grown gradually at first, then rapidly after the establishment of the School of Philanthropy, which in 1907 was made responsible for its administration. In 1904-1905 the library of the State Charities Aid Association was combined with it as a loan, bringing the number of books, reports, and pamphlets to more than 5,000. By the time Russell Sage Foundation began work the collection had been further enlarged, had been reorganized and catalogued, and had been opened to the public for reference. From the spring of 1908 the Foundation met administrative expenses and helped substantially to build up the collection, while for three years longer responsibility for administration remained with the School.

TRANSFER TO RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

On May 1, 1911, Frederick Warren Jenkins, who had been chosen by the Foundation to develop its Library, took charge. The former librarian, Miss Helen Page Bates, was appointed reference librarian. The books and pamphlets were still in the custody of the School, in the United Charities Building. They were still the property of the Charity Organization Society and of the State Charities Aid Association. For the next year and a half the Library was conducted under the joint auspices of the School and the Foundation.

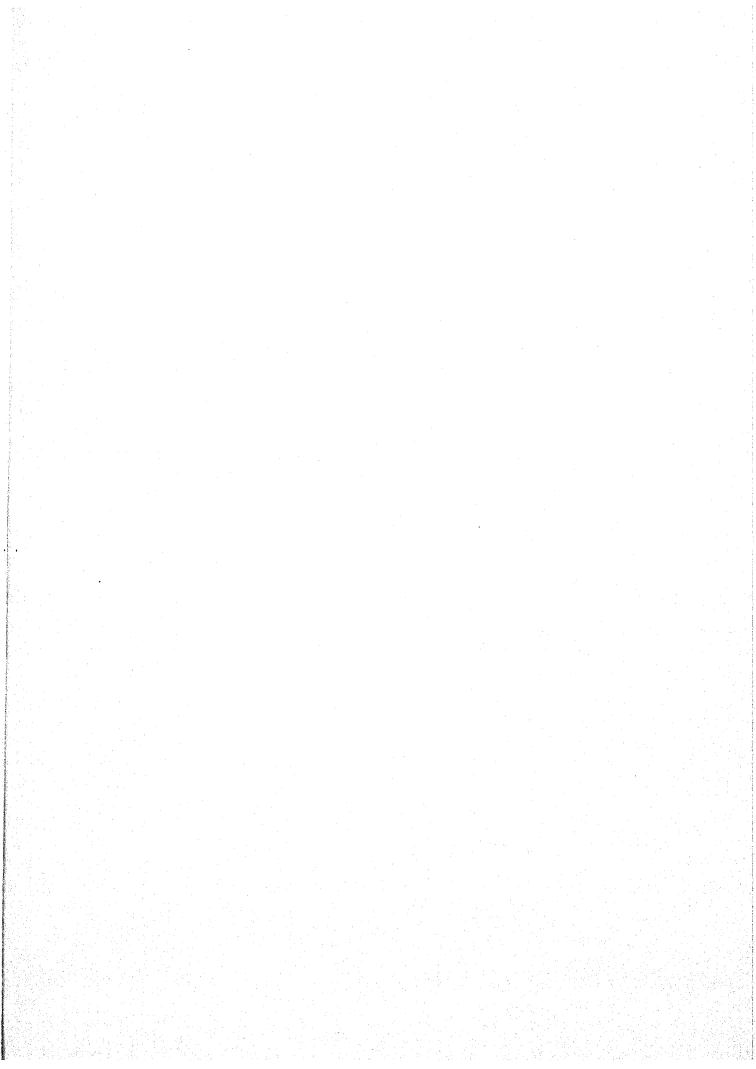
Mr. Jenkins had been on the library staff at Dartmouth for five years after his graduation there in 1900, and since then director of the Library Department of Charles Scribner's Sons. He was considered exceptionally qualified not only to build up a useful library, but also to be helpful in the circulation of the Foundation's publications and in promoting co-ordination of the sociological and economic resources of all the libraries within reach.

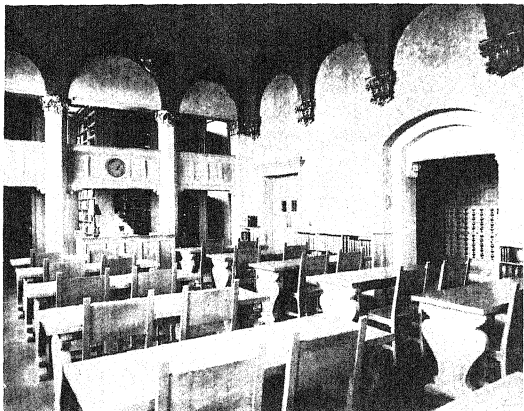
During the progress of plans for the permanent home of the Foundation through the year 1912 it was agreed that the Library should be moved to the new building as soon as it was completed. In anticipation of this change the Charity Organization Society in October, 1912, transferred title in its books and pamphlets to the Foundation. The Foundation undertook to maintain the Library for public reference, to give facilities for its use to staff and students of the School and to officers and employes of the Society, to catalogue and label the books as gifts of the Charity Organization Society, and to return them, or their equivalent as nearly as possible, if at any time it should cease to maintain the Library. In December a similar agreement was made with the State Charities Aid Association. The Library was moved to the quarters specially planned for it at the top of the Foundation building in September, 1913.

Hitherto it had been maintained primarily to meet the needs of the School of Philanthropy and the convenience of the two organizations that had founded the collection. Other readers had always been welcome, and in 1905, after the union of the two collections, Paul M. Warburg, chairman of the library committee of the Charity Organization Society, said in his annual report that it was the object of the committee "to make this library the best place in the country for the study of practical social problems." By transferring it to the Foundation, which had the same ideal and could supply the necessary funds, attainment of this object was assured.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER LIBRARIES

As a specialized collection, its usefulness depended to a considerable degree on knowledge of the contents of other libraries





MAIN READING ROOM, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION LIBRARY

within easy access and co-operative relations with them. Mr. Jenkins began by familiarizing himself with the resources of the many general and special collections in the city and the State Library at Albany. Arrangements were made for reciprocal privileges for readers and for interchange of books on loan. Generous help was given by many librarians in discussing problems involved in delimiting the field for the Foundation's Library and building up a special collection that would constitute a unit in the combined resources of the city.

CONSOLIDATION OF MATERIAL

Plans were made in the summer of 1911 for reclassifying, recataloguing, and other work required to assimilate into a unified library the several collections that had come from different sources. As a preliminary the condition of every book was examined. Every book was cleaned. Those that needed it were repaired and rebound. Hundreds of valuable pamphlets in paper covers were bound in protective boards at slight expense. When the Library moved into its new quarters the books were "in perfect condition." In working out the classification to be adopted "constant help and advice" were given by the head cataloguers of Columbia University and the Brooklyn Public Library.

In this initial overhauling of the material both duplications and gaps were brought to light. A systematic search for missing numbers of serial publications and for places where duplicates would be useful was instituted at once, and was continued through succeeding years. Recataloguing was begun on November 1, 1913, after the books were in the new quarters. The Library was closed to the public until the following summer, to give opportunity for scrutinizing its resources, adding to them, and putting them in shape for greater usefulness.

NEW SERVICES

Extension of the Library's sphere of usefulness was not postponed until reorganization was completed, nor was it limited to the establishment of closer relations with libraries. Beginning in

May, 1911, the privilege of taking books out was accorded to any responsible adult. Inquiries by letter and telephone were encouraged. Replies frequently involved compiling lists of references on particular topics. In October, 1911, the first of a long series of printed bibliographies was published. Through this and the following academic year the bibliographies appeared as bulletins of the School of Philanthropy. From October, 1913, they were issued in a new series of bimonthly Bulletins of the Russell Sage Foundation Library.

One of the bulletins each year, beginning in 1911-1912, was devoted to the annual report of the librarian; another to a selected list of books on social subjects published in the preceding year. The subjects of the other bibliographies were topics of current interest among the Library's clientele. The list for 1911-1917, in order of appearance, was as follows:

October, 1911-May, 1913: Farm Colonies for Vagrants and Convicts, Vocational Guidance, Juvenile Delinquency, Social Aspects of Town Planning, Improved Housing, Feeble-minded Children, Church in Social Life, Infant Welfare.

1913-1914: Social Survey, Eugenics, Co-operative Credit, Penal Farms and Farm Colonies.

1914-1915: Emergency Relief, Pamphlet Publications of the Russell Sage Foundation Departments, American Foundations for Social Welfare, Welfare Work.

1915-1916: Social Survey (revised edition), Feeble-mindedness, Hospital Social Service, Tuberculosis.

1916-1917: School Nurse, Employment for the Handicapped, Industrial Fatigue.

GIFTS AND EXCHANGES

In building up its collection the Library was greatly indebted to gifts. The Charity Organization Society and the State Charities Aid Association, and their officers and staff as individuals, continued to contribute material. A growing circle of other friends, both organizations and individuals, as they learned its facilities and its needs, came to think of it as the best repository

for books and reports they did not care to keep within arm's reach. In the years 1913-1917 a third of the 6,741 bound volumes added to the Library and nearly all of the thousands of pamphlets were acquired by gift. Besides the gifts that were kept by the Library, an even larger number—duplicates or material outside its official field—contributed to its growth through exchange for items that were usable, frequently much needed.

The idea of exchange with other libraries was suggested by the large number of duplicates among donations. Although not needed here undoubtedly many of them would be valuable somewhere. By arrangement with the Library Journal, accordingly, lists of material that could be had for the asking were printed in its pages from time to time, beginning in January, 1915. In the first three months 90 per cent of the volumes offered were placed where they would be useful. In exchange the Foundation received many items of great value, including out-of-print volumes missing from some of its series of conference proceedings. The redistribution of material thus initiated was continued. It was of advantage to all the libraries affected and to their constituencies.

SERIAL PUBLICATIONS AND SPECIAL REPORTS

"Vigilance rather than money," said the librarian in his report for 1915-1916, "is the price paid for enriching the special library." In the field of social work and social problems this was particularly true at that time. Books within this field issued by commercial publishers were still comparatively few and it was comparatively simple to keep up with them. Most of the material, however, was in reports of private agencies and government departments; proceedings of conferences; federal, state, and municipal documents; files of periodicals. Much of this could be obtained at the time of issue at no cost but postage and persistence. It was a different matter to complete files that had gaps in them, particularly when the missing numbers were old, the publication obscure, and the original edition small. Except for some periodicals, this too required little money, but constant watchfulness and a great deal of determination.

A "check list"¹ of serial publications was begun in 1913 and was developed year by year. Search for missing items in valuable series became an engrossing pursuit. Many were supplied by the issuing organizations or departments; many by libraries in all parts of America and in England and other foreign countries; and many came in unsolicited with miscellaneous donations. Sometimes a rare early report or pamphlet would be found in a box that seemed to contain a most unpromising assortment.

THE CATALOGUE

To make such a collection as this of maximum usefulness special interest in the field on the part of the Library staff is essential, and methods of classification and cataloguing must be adapted to the nature of the material and the convenience of those who use it. When recataloguing was begun in 1912, more special subject headings were adopted than would be used in a general library, and these were subdivided as expansion of material indicated the need. Entries on the cards were made more specific and more detailed than would ordinarily be considered necessary. Material was indexed under locality as well as under subject. Cross-references were inserted generously. Analysis of the contents of books and reports, and of magazines not indexed elsewhere, increased the usefulness of the catalogue. It was work that could be extended indefinitely, and could be carried forward as circumstances permitted.

THE LIBRARY IN 1917

By 1917 the work of reclassifying and recataloguing was "nearing completion." The check list of serial publications had reached proportions that suggested the advisability of publishing it as a book of reference.² At the end of the fiscal year the collection contained 15,695 bound volumes, 32,935 unbound items, and about 3,000 clippings in vertical files. During the year about 25,000 reports and serial publications were received, of which 7,732 were added to the permanent collection.

¹ A complete record for each serial publication contained in the Library, kept at the circulation desk, and referred to in the catalogue by a red-ink entry "See check list at desk" on every card for a serial publication.

² See p. 423.

The average number of readers per month was 1,532, compared with about 300 in 1910-1911. In the same period the number of volumes circulated during the year had grown from 4,470 to 10,524. Among the borrowers were doctors, nurses, lawyers, actors, clergymen, professional writers and lecturers, as well as students, social workers, and teachers of social subjects in many nearby colleges and universities.

The bimonthly Bulletin was now going regularly to a thousand subscribers. Some of the bibliographies in the series had been ordered in large quantities by libraries, and many single copies were sent out in reply to letters asking assistance. Typewritten bibliographies specially prepared on request during the year numbered 314. The annual selection of important books on social subjects published during the preceding year was used by many libraries as a guide for their buying.

In June, 1917, a handbook on the Library itself was published.¹ It contained an account of the history and organization of the Library; a description of the collection and its physical accommodations, including pictures of the main reading room and the periodical room and of the exterior of the Foundation building and its entrance hall; a statement about methods and results; and information as to other collections in New York City of interest to social workers.

By this time the Library contained the best collection in existence on social work and social conditions in the United States. It was rich also in similar material from England. On certain subjects France and Germany were well represented. Its files of international, national, and state conferences relating to social work, and of reports of important organizations, state boards, and commissions—many of them complete from the beginning—were unique. The Russell Sage Foundation Library already had a recognized place in the community of special libraries of the city,² was known by librarians and students outside the city, and was constantly extending its usefulness.

¹ Russell Sage Foundation Library, by Frederick Warren Jenkins, 1917.

² Mr. Jenkins had been president of the New York Library Club for two years.

XVII

PUBLICATIONS AND SPECIAL STUDIES: 1907-1917

IN THE Foundation's charter "publication" is named second only to "research" among the means it might be expected to employ in improving social and living conditions in America. The educators and social workers whose views were sought by the Trustees before adopting a program urged the importance of spreading information in every possible way. Mr. de Forest and Mr. Gilman specified publication in various forms as of primary importance. In Mr. Glenn's view "the first object . . . should be investigation; the next education; chiefly by publication."

EXISTING MATERIAL

Printed material about social conditions and social work in America was scanty in 1907. A few books were in circulation. They were good, but there were not enough of them. Public and college libraries contained more English than American works on social problems. Some of them had more written in German and in French than in English. Aside from the relatively few native books, the sources of information on American conditions and methods were conference proceedings, annual reports, periodicals of limited circulation, an occasional doctor's dissertation, a few pages in a few textbooks of sociology, scattered magazine articles, pamphlets, and certain publications of federal agencies. There were not many places where any considerable amount of this material had been assembled.

At the same time growing interest in social problems was sharpening the demand for printed material. University courses in "charities and correction" were increasing in number and popularity. Their teachers were hampered by the meager list of references they could give students to supplement lectures. The new schools for training social workers felt the dearth of printed

tools of instruction. Persons trying to get bad conditions corrected, whether by legislation or by persuasion, needed more "authorities" to quote. Indeed, all who were concerned with the progress of social work and the improvement of social conditions were becoming aware that more "literature" would be a great help.

PUBLICATION PROGRAM

One of the Foundation's first acts was to adopt the fourfold program for publication proposed by Mr. Gilman.¹ At the same meeting appropriations were made to further the development of Charities, which was one item in the program, and to make possible several research undertakings expected to result in books. Most of the program—contributions of articles to existing journals, "occasional tracts," and the "series of brief memoirs . . . by competent persons"—would have to develop gradually, as products or by-products of the Foundation's work.

As its publishing agent the Foundation engaged the services of Charities Publication Committee. For nearly ten years the Committee and its successor, Survey Associates, Inc., attended to all the business of production and distribution of the Foundation's books and of such of its pamphlets as were not handled by the departments individually. Toward the end of 1916 the Foundation established its own Publication Department, in charge of the librarian, Frederick Warren Jenkins. On February 1, 1917, the new department took over the responsibilities that had been carried by Survey Associates, Inc. Gradually the other departments turned over to it the printing and distribution of their pamphlets, and before long all the publishing activities of the Foundation were centralized in its hands.

PUBLICATIONS IN FIRST DECADE

In the period ending September 30, 1917, Russell Sage Foundation published 47 books² under its own imprint, met the initial

¹ May 27, 1907. See p. 27.

² See Appendix C for list of publications classified chronologically according to departments. Two other publications of book size, but bound in paper, are classified as pamphlets: Devine's Report on the Desirability of Establishing an Employment Bureau in the City of New York (p. 237) and Warfield's Outdoor Relief in Missouri (p. 218).

cost of printing several others,¹ and through its departments issued 250 to 300 pamphlets. The articles contributed to appropriate journals by members of the staff, or by other persons conducting investigations financed wholly or in part by the Foundation, have never been counted. Several books written by members of the staff or with financial assistance from the Foundation were published under other auspices.²

Most of the departments when they began work needed a supply of material for general distribution. Leaflets and pamphlets, quickly prepared and printed and relatively inexpensive, were their natural recourse. They reprinted articles and addresses. They preprinted chapters of books in progress. They used pamphlets for reporting on studies not requiring book-length presentation, for bibliographies and directories, study-outlines, suggestions for programs, drafts of laws, and other material subject to frequent revision or likely for any reason to have only temporary value. Toward the end of the decade the pamphlets

¹ In April, 1908, the Foundation appropriated a sum to be used as a revolving fund for bringing out approved manuscripts, not originating with the Foundation, that might be expected to pay for themselves but were not likely to be accepted by a commercial house. On these books the Foundation took the risk and got back the returns from sales—as on its own publications—but its name did not appear and it received none of the credit or criticism. Four books were published with this help by Charities Publication Committee:

Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, by Emily Greene Balch, 1910. Based on material published serially in *Charities and the Commons*, 1906–1907.

Fifty Years of Prison Service, the autobiography of Zebulon R. Brockway, for twenty years superintendent of Elmira Reformatory, 1912.

How Two Hundred Children Live and Learn, by R. R. Reeder, superintendent of the New York Orphan Asylum, 1909. Based on articles written for *Charities and the Commons*, 1906–1908.

Visiting Nursing in the United States, a history and a directory, by Yssabella Waters of the Henry Street Settlement of New York, 1909.

² Three of these were:

Open-Air Schools, by Leonard P. Ayres. Doubleday, Page and Co., New York, 1910. (See p. 88.)

The Healthful Art of Dancing, by Luther H. Gulick, M.D. Doubleday, Page and Co., 1910. (See p. 77.)

Industrial Causes of Congestion of Population in New York City, by E. E. Pratt. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 109. Columbia University, New York, 1911. (Written while a fellow of the New York School of Philanthropy.)

became more substantial in size and most of them were products of staff research.¹

Of the books published by the Foundation during the first decade, about a third were written by members of the staff. The others were prepared on commission from the Foundation, or as reports on investigations it financed, wholly or in part, at a cost ranging from a small amount for incidental expenses to many thousands of dollars. For the preparation of books by outsiders, and for the expenses of investigations expected to result in books, specific appropriations were made by the Trustees, on the recommendation of the general director, and the expenditure of such appropriations was under his immediate supervision. They were "direct work," not "grants," though in some cases the distinction was not very clear.

Many of the persons who were commissioned to make studies and prepare books had executive responsibilities and other demands on their time. Many had never written a book. Consequently some of the manuscripts were long delayed, and received only after persistent prodding. In spite of all the hazards, there were few appropriations for special studies that failed to yield books, sooner or later, and those few were not without useful results in other ways.

Soon after the Foundation began to publish books it became apparent that it would be necessary to edit all manuscripts carefully both statistically and from a literary angle. It was a principle of the Foundation from its inception that the results of research should be clearly and concisely expressed for the benefit of readers, and that quotations and references should be accurate. To put this principle into practice it employed editors, whose special work was to revise and prepare manuscripts for printers. The first editor was Miss May Langdon White, who continued on the staff for a number of years, until her death in 1915. In December, 1909, Miss Helen Moore was given the chief responsibility for editing the Foundation's publications and continued to edit them until 1946. She had had much experience in both

¹ The more important pamphlets, the record forms, and the scales for grading handwriting and ability in spelling and reading, have been mentioned in the accounts of departmental work in Chapters VI to XVI.

writing and editing. She had also been greatly interested in social conditions on the East Side in New York and had been closely associated with the group of men and women who founded settlement houses there.

Her keen appreciation of good English was largely responsible for the quality of the text in the Foundation's books. Nearly all the books and pamphlets issued under the imprint of the Foundation and a number of other books in which the Foundation had a special interest had the benefit of Miss Moore's critical literary skill.¹

A uniform pattern for books to be published under the Foundation's imprint, as contemplated by Mr. Gilman's program, was adopted in October, 1909, with the professional help of Walter Gilliss, one of America's great printers and typographical advisers. His classic taste was apparent in the type face chosen and other details. Two standard sizes were approved: an octavo for general use and a smaller size for shorter books. The original choice of binding, green cloth or a matching paper, was used throughout the first decade.² Dignity of appearance and legibility were the physical qualities most desired.

The nature of the books and the relatively small number of persons interested in social problems forbade any exaggerated expectations of demand. Original printings of 1,000 or 1,200 copies were usual.³ To insure their finding owners who would have a serious interest in them, and to replenish the funds for publication, the policy of selling the books was adopted rather than of giving them away. A formal resolution to that effect was adopted by the Trustees in May, 1909, on a proposal by Mr.

¹ The following quotation from a letter from Thomas Adams, who had been director of the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, to Mr. Glenn in 1935 about his Outline of Town and City Planning, issued by the Foundation that year, expresses the value placed by authors on the editing and preparation of their manuscripts for printing by the editor and her assistants. Mr. Adams wrote: "The book is certainly doubled in value as a result of the editorial contribution that has been made by the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation under the direction of Mr. Harrison and yourself. I must write a note to Miss Moore to thank her for the special care and constructive help she gave."

² Later it was abandoned because it was found to fade, and as the years went on other departures from the original style were made for particular publications.

³ Several books had to be reprinted within the year of publication; several more than once within a few years.

de Forest to send free copies regularly to the more important libraries of the country. The list of complimentary copies was kept small, but copies were sent out freely for review. In setting prices the object was to put the books within reach of the public for which they were intended while at the same time recovering as large a part as feasible of the cost of manufacture, but without regard to the other, much heavier, costs of production. Compared with prices of books of similar character issued by commercial publishers, they were low.

THE FIRST RSF BOOK

By supplying funds to promote studies already in hand or projected, and to give persons with books "in their heads" leisure to put them on paper, the Foundation was able to publish more books in its early years than if it had relied entirely on the output of its own staff.

The first item on its list was a handbook on *The Campaign Against Tuberculosis in the United States*, by Philip P. Jacobs, published in August, 1908. The anti-tuberculosis movement was growing fast. The first directory of institutions for treatment and educational agencies, prepared by the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis of the New York Charity Organization Society, and published in 1904 under the joint auspices of the New York Committee and the newly formed National Association, was already far out of date, as well as out of print. The National Association wanted to get out a comprehensive expanded revision in time for distribution at the International Congress in September, 1908. Grants by the Foundation in the summer of 1907 included provision for collecting the material and preparing the volume, and it was ready when the Congress convened.¹

STANDARD OF LIVING

Two studies squarely in the Foundation's field that had been begun before the Foundation was created were carried through with its help: the Pittsburgh Survey and an investigation of standards of living in wage-earners' families in New York.

¹ Subsequent editions, in 1911 and at intervals thereafter, were published by the National Association, not by the Foundation.

The standard-of-living study was initiated by the New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1906 as the result of an address by Frank Tucker and on his motion. A committee was appointed (Lee K. Frankel, chairman) to report to the Conference "What constitutes the essentials of a normal standard of living and the cost of such a standard of living for a definite social unit at this time, in the cities and towns of this State." The Conference appropriated \$300 for expenses. It happened that Robert Coit Chapin, member of the faculty of political science of Beloit College, was studying for his doctor's degree in social economy at Columbia. The committee arranged with him to act as its secretary and proceeded to try to collect the necessary schedules through volunteers in social agencies and trade unions. When this method "met with only indifferent success" the Conference appropriated \$200 more and authorized the committee "to receive money directly from any source whatever." Sufficient funds were obtained "from private sources"¹ to engage paid investigators and carry on the study actively in the summer of 1907. The committee made a substantial report to the State Conference in November, 1907.²

Mr. Chapin then elaborated the material and added a review of the history of family budgets. His book was published early in 1909, the third on the Foundation's list. It stimulated similar inquiries elsewhere, and profoundly influenced subsequent study of the subject. Through its concrete descriptions of what could—or could not—be obtained in the city of New York in 1907 by a family of given size with a given income it supplied a better basis for determining relief and contributed to a better appreciation of the significance of the level of wages for family welfare.

PITTSBURGH SURVEY

Most important and best known of the studies made possible by the Foundation in its early days was the Pittsburgh Survey, the first attempt in America to make, as Mr. Glenn said in his

¹ At this period Russell Sage Foundation was asking all recipients of its appropriations to treat them as confidential.

² The foregoing information, including quotations, comes from the committee's report, a 37-page pamphlet printed by the Foundation.

Preface to the first volume, "a careful and fairly comprehensive study of the conditions under which working people live and labor in a great industrial city."¹

The Survey had been undertaken by Charities Publication Committee in the winter of 1906-1907, following a request from the chief probation officer of the Allegheny Juvenile Court that Charities magazine do for Pittsburgh what it had done for the national capital in its special number, *Next Door to Congress*. Influenced largely by the enthusiasm of one of its members, Frank Tucker, and by reinforcements of the request from influential citizens of Pittsburgh, the Committee decided to undertake it.² Work was begun on a shoestring, an appropriation of \$1,000 by the Committee and contributions from residents of Pittsburgh amounting to \$350.

Even if there had been no personal relations between Russell Sage Foundation and Charities Publication Committee,³ the enterprise could hardly have failed to enlist the interest of the Trustees. On May 27, 1907, they appropriated \$7,000—"that the investigation may be as thorough and complete as possible," and with a view to publication of the results by the Foundation. After a few weeks in the field it became obvious a good deal more would be needed to realize that ideal. Additional appropriations by the Foundation, bringing the total to \$27,000,⁴ made it possible to round out a full year of field work.

Six volumes were added to the Foundation's list of books as a result of the Pittsburgh Survey. Findings were made public in

¹ One of the suggestions made to the Trustees (by Henry R. Seager) was for a study of "the life and labor of the people of New York City comparable with Charles Booth's study of London."

² A full account of origin, methods, and main results to 1914, is given in Appendix E of volume 5 of the Report by Paul U. Kellogg, director of the Survey and editor of the six volumes constituting its report. A summary statement of its distinctive features and its significance for future developments in social research is contained in *The Social Survey*, by Shelby M. Harrison, 1931.

³ Mr. de Forest was chairman of Charities Publication Committee. Mr. Gilman and Mr. Glenn also were members.

⁴ For expenses of investigation. Salaries of several of the investigators while they were writing their reports in New York, after the field work was over, also were met by the Foundation. Cost of printing the six volumes was recovered, at least in part, by receipts from sales. In addition to its expenditures for the Survey and publication of its report, the Foundation made grants for three undertakings that grew out of the Survey (see Chapter XVIII).

various ways before any of the books appeared. While the investigation was in progress results were shared with the people of Pittsburgh through discussions, press releases, addresses. In November, 1908, they were displayed in an exhibit at Carnegie Institute. A national audience was reached through "the learned societies" at their meetings during the Christmas holidays of 1908, through three special numbers of *Charities and the Commons* in the first three months of 1909, through articles in popular magazines and trade journals, and through wide use of the material by editors and by ministers and other public speakers.

The first volume published was *Women and the Trades*, by Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, in December, 1909. Although it had been recognized for some time that women constituted "a new labor force," this was the first comprehensive view of what they were doing in a large American city, what wages they received, and under what conditions they worked. The facts were a revelation not only to the general public but to many employers.

Volume 2, *Crystal Eastman's Work-Accidents and the Law*, published in May, 1910, was the first systematic investigation of what industrial accidents meant to wage-earners and their families under the old common-law theory of employers' liability. When a new edition was issued, in 1916, the editor could say there had been "greater and more revolutionary changes" in American laws relating to work-accidents in the six years since the book appeared than in the sixty years preceding. A compilation of statutes in 34 states and territories¹ supported the claim. No change was made in the text, which could not have been a more eloquent argument for pushing forward the legislative revolution. "The sooner, however," Mr. Kellogg added, "the book has merely historic value, as the account of a tragic chapter in American industrial life, the more to the liking of author, editor and publishers."

Volumes 3 and 4, published within a few weeks of each other at the end of 1910 and the beginning of 1911, were complementary. Together they gave a picture of what the steel industry at that time—and the company that was the largest single em-

¹ Supplied by the American Association for Labor Legislation.

ployer of labor in America—meant to the men employed in it and to their families in a town dependent on it. In *The Steel Workers* John A. Fitch made the nation conscious of the twelve-hour day and seven-day week, the “long turn,” the heat and danger associated with handling molten metal, and the significance of a labor policy that excluded the men from any voice in their working conditions. In *Homestead* Miss Byington pictured the kind of home and home life steelworkers and their families could have under the conditions then prevailing and how the mill and its policies affected the community. The revelations of the Pittsburgh Survey started a train of events that resulted in substantial improvements in working and living conditions of workers in industries in Pittsburgh.

Two more volumes, 5 and 6, were added in 1914.¹ They presented a conspectus of the Pittsburgh district, brought together a number of the shorter reports on particular topics, and reviewed the history of the Survey, with an analysis of procedures, advice for future surveyors, and information about results that could be seen to date.²

Practical results were sought—and obtained—“right along” in Pittsburgh while the Survey was in progress, by the sheer power of publicity. As a method of study applicable to other communities, the comprehensive “survey” of interrelated elements of social welfare quickly caught the imagination. The interest manifested led the Foundation in 1912 to create its Department of Surveys and Exhibits as a major activity. It was the Pittsburgh Survey that introduced the word “survey,” taken from the engineering profession, into the vocabulary of social work.

SERIES ON CORRECTION AND PREVENTION

Next to the report of the Pittsburgh Survey, the largest publishing enterprise of the Foundation in its early years was the four-volume series *Correction and Prevention*, prepared for the International Prison Congress meeting in Washington in 1910.

¹ The Pittsburgh District, and Wage-Earning Pittsburgh, both edited by Paul U. Kellogg.

² Many are recorded by Mr. Kellogg and by the writers of the individual reports included in the last two volumes.

Samuel J. Barrows, president of the Congress when plans for the meeting were taking shape,¹ had suggested the preparation of "souvenir volumes" describing American methods of dealing with crime and delinquency, for presentation to the delegates, and a committee under the chairmanship of Charles R. Henderson had been entrusted with the work. In December, 1908, Russell Sage Foundation agreed to give \$5,000 to meet the cost of publication. The editor (Professor Henderson) and the authors contributed their services. The four volumes,² aggregating more than 1,600 pages, were ready when the Congress convened in October, 1910. Though long since out of print, these books still stand on library shelves, to reproduce for students the practices and theories and hopes of 1910.

One of them, *Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children*, was prepared, and in part written, by Hastings H. Hart, director of the Foundation's Department of Child-Helping. The section on "Cottage and Congregate Institutions" in this volume was also issued separately, as was the section on "Criminal Law in the United States," contributed by Eugene Smith to volume one. The Foundation published at the same time a supplementary volume edited by Dr. Hart on *Juvenile Court Laws in the United States*.

BOOKS PREPARED ON ASSIGNMENT

Of the books prepared by arrangement with qualified persons, some were proposed by the Foundation, others by the authors. The first one arranged for was an evaluative account of relief measures in San Francisco following the earthquake and fire of 1906. On May 27, 1907, the director was authorized to spend \$5,000 for this study, which was to be in charge of Francis H. McLean.³ It resulted in a volume made up of six distinct studies and three unsigned sections, which was published on April 18,

¹ He died in April, 1909, and was succeeded by Charles Richmond Henderson.

² *Prison Reform; Penal and Reformatory Institutions; Preventive Agencies and Methods; Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children.*

³ The Charity Organization Department also contributed help at various stages. Supplementary appropriations made after 1907 brought the total cash expenditure for the study above \$22,000.

PUBLICATIONS, SPECIAL STUDIES: 1907-1917

1913, the seventh anniversary of the disaster, under the title San Francisco Relief Survey.

The second commission was given in the summer of 1907 to Mrs. Alice Willard Solenberger for a study of homeless men she had known in her work in Chicago and Minneapolis. It was published in May, 1911, six months after her untimely death, under the title One Thousand Homeless Men. Other early books that resulted from "commissions" or special arrangements to facilitate their preparation were the following, listed in the order in which arrangements were made:

Title and Author	Date of Arrangement	Date of Publication
Workingmen's Insurance in Europe, by Lee K. Frankel and Miles M. Dawson	October, 1907	August, 1910
Housing Reform, and Model Tenement House Law, by Lawrence Veiller	November, 1907	April, 1910
Handbook of Settlements, by Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy	April, 1908	June, 1911
Fatigue and Efficiency, by Josephine Goldmark	February, 1909	May, 1912
Among School Gardens, by M. Louise Greene	Summer, 1909	April, 1910
Civic Bibliography, edited by James Bronson Reynolds	Summer, 1909	February, 1911
Saleswomen in Mercantile Stores (Baltimore), by Elizabeth Beardsley Butler	Summer, 1909	February, 1912
Carrying Out the City Plan, by Flavel Shurtleff and Frederick Law Olmsted	January, 1910	July, 1914
The Almshouse, by Alexander Johnson	July, 1910	June, 1911

In addition to these books for which the Foundation made special arrangements, A Model Housing Law, prepared by Lawrence Veiller as director of the National Housing Associa-

tion¹ to meet the need for a manual of more general application than the model tenement-house law, was published by the Foundation in February, 1914.

All these books were timely. Most of them filled recognized gaps and met recognized demands. Social insurance was a relatively new interest in America, and little was known here about the pioneer systems in foreign countries. Mr. Veiller's manuals were essential in extending the housing movement on a national scale, as undertaken by the newly formed Association. The settlement movement in America was now more than twenty years old, but there was no comprehensive inventory of its extent and of what it was doing. Miss Goldmark's book brought together, in support of efforts to reduce the working day, results of scientific study in many lands on the nature and consequences of fatigue, as well as information about protective laws in the United States and the text of Louis D. Brandeis' already classic brief in the "Oregon case." There was a lively interest in school gardens at this time, and the Foundation was helping the movement in other ways as well as through Miss Greene's book.² The Civic Bibliography, prepared at the suggestion of the New York Research Council³ by two graduates of the New York School of Philanthropy, under the supervision of Mr. Reynolds,⁴ did not fully meet the desire of the Trustees for information about studies under way in the city, but it supplied a guide to all the important material in print. Miss Butler's study of saleswomen in Baltimore was made because the Consumers League of Maryland needed the facts as a basis for its "white list" of stores. The League met the cost of the investigation; the Foundation published the report and met some small incidental expenses not otherwise provided for.

The study of city planning developed from a request for something else. A Conference on City Planning had been held in Washington in January, 1907. Late in 1909 a committee of which

¹ Supported largely by grants from the Foundation. (See p. 227.)

² See p. 234.

³ E. R. A. Seligman, chairman.

⁴ Mr. Reynolds was headworker of the University Settlement in New York at the time. He gave his services without compensation.

Mr. Olmsted was chairman, charged with organizing a second conference, to be held in 1910, asked the Foundation to provide a secretary. It seemed to Mr. Glenn, and the Trustees concurred, that it would be better to employ a man primarily to study the movement and prepare a manual for publication by the Foundation, though he might meanwhile act as secretary of the Conference, as Mr. Shurtleff did.

In the spring of 1910 Alexander Johnson, then secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, suggested to Mr. Glenn that a simple, practical handbook on the construction and management of almshouses would be useful. Mr. Glenn agreed. Mr. Johnson was probably the man who knew most and cared most in the United States about the generally deplorable conditions in the almshouses and how they could be improved. He had his little book ready in less than a year.

"Special studies" financed by the Foundation usually resulted in publications for its list, but not always. The report of the investigation of employment of children and women in the canneries of the state in the summer of 1907¹ was not published by the Foundation² but it supplied a basis for a survey several years later by the State Factory Investigating Commission, which found similar conditions and published its findings. In the summer of 1908 an appropriation for traveling expenses was made to enable John Graham Brooks to collect information on rural co-operation in Europe. This seemed an exceptional opportunity to get reliable information on a subject of great interest in America at the time. Mr. Brooks gathered valuable material, which he used in public addresses and informal conferences, but to Mr. Glenn's disappointment no written report could be elicited.

PRODUCTS OF THE SCHOOLS

Several books, though fewer than hoped, came out of the bureaus of research financed for several years by the Foundation

¹ See p. 30.

² To obtain access to the plants, the investigators agreed to submit the report to the canners before printing it, and the canners, when they saw it, would not give their consent to publication.

in the four schools for training social workers.¹ The first substantial publication was the report (1908) on *The Salary Loan Business in New York City*, by Clarence W. Wassam, one of the fellows of the New York School in 1907-1908. This was issued in paper covers and accordingly was classified as a pamphlet, though it was as large as some books (143 pages) and had more influence than many.

The first book came from the Chicago School: *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, 1912. It was written by the two directors of the Department of Social Investigation, using material collected by fellows. There followed, from Boston, *Co-operation in New England*, by James Ford, 1913;² and from New York two volumes in 1914 and one in 1915 presenting studies of a congested district on the Middle West Side of the city.³ One of the 1914 volumes contained a historical sketch of the district, by Otho G. Cartwright, and *Mothers Who Must Earn*, by Katharine S. Anthony; the other contained *Boyhood and Lawlessness*, and *The Neglected Girl*, by Ruth S. True.

The Longshoremen, by Charles B. Barnes, 1915, also a West Side study, was the first comprehensive description of the life and working conditions of New York stevedores. The facts were presented at hearings before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations in 1914 and were used as the basis of recommendations by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment in New York City in 1916.

The Saint Louis School is represented by *Outdoor Relief in Missouri*, by George A. Warfield, begun in 1908 and published in 1915. This, too, like the first report from the New York School, was issued in paper covers and was therefore classified as a pamphlet, though of book size.

¹ See p. 30.

² The collection of papers by Henry H. Hibbs, Jr., on *Infant Mortality*, a pamphlet publication of the Department of Child-Helping (see p. 107) was based on investigations by the Boston School.

³ These West Side studies were completed under the direct auspices of the Foundation after the Research Bureau of the New York School had been discontinued.

PRODUCTS OF DEPARTMENTAL WORK

As far as they go, books by members of the Foundation's permanent staff or by persons attached temporarily to a department to make a special study are reports to the public on the work of the departments. They are reports of the major investigations, but they do not cover the committee service and consultation that constitute a large part of their work, nor the studies that can be presented more effectively or more conveniently in addresses, articles, and pamphlets. After the first few years the proportion of books by outsiders was small, and such books as a rule were prepared at the suggestion and under the immediate supervision of a department.

Seventeen of the 47 books published in the first decade were products of departmental work. The departments represented and the number of books from each, in the order of their appearance in the list, were the following:

Education	2
Child-Helping	7
Recreation	1
Industrial Studies	5
Charity Organization	2

The other departments either (like Remedial Loans, Surveys and Exhibits, and Library) had used only leaflets and pamphlets for their publications; or (like Statistics and Southern Highlands) had nothing yet to publish—Statistics because thus far it had not engaged in independent studies, Southern Highlands because Mr. Campbell had not yet had time for consecutive writing.

The first book embodying results of staff studies was published in October, 1908, only a year after the Foundation began research through a staff of its own, but a few weeks later than the first book on its list. It was Medical Inspection of Schools, by Dr. Gulick and Mr. Ayres.¹ It was put together quickly, "to be of practical use" at a time when America was beginning to be interested in the subject, and consisted largely of descriptions of current practices, reproductions of forms, and an analysis of

¹ Both were members of the Foundation's staff at the time, but were not so described on the title page.

laws. The second staff book, also from the Division of Education, was Mr. Ayres' *Laggards in Our Schools*, published in June, 1909.

Next appeared, in 1910, the books prepared by Dr. Hart for the International Prison Congress. Other books coming out of the Department of Child-Helping before the war were *Care and Education of Crippled Children*, by Edith Reeves (1914); a useful practical manual on *Elements of Record Keeping for Child-Helping Organizations*, by Georgia G. Ralph (1915); and reports on *Child Welfare Work in Pennsylvania* (1915) and *Child Welfare Work in California* (1916), both by William H. Slingerland.

The Department of Recreation made its entrance into the list of books in December, 1910, with *Wider Use of the School Plant*, by Clarence Arthur Perry, whose name thenceforth was identified with that movement. Again the topic was one in which interest was growing and on which little had been written.

Books resulting from the series of studies by the Committee on Women's Work began to appear in January, 1913, with *Women in the Bookbinding Trade*. This was followed a few months later by *Artificial Flower Makers*; in November, 1914, by *Working Girls in Evening Schools*; and in May, 1917, by *A Seasonal Industry* (millinery). All these books were written by Mary van Kleeck, who had been director of the studies, some of which were begun before the Foundation was chartered. The fifth volume of industrial studies, and the last book published by the Foundation in the decade, was—appropriately—*Munition Makers*, by Amy Hewes and Henriette R. Walter, issued in August, 1917.

The first book for which the Charity Organization Department was responsible was *Social Work in Hospitals*, by Ida M. Cannon, R.N. It had been suggested by Miss Richmond and was prepared under her supervision. Miss Cannon was a pioneer in medical social work, which was then in its early days. The book was published in October, 1913, and revised in 1923. Altogether 5,000 copies were printed. It had a steady sale until 1946, when the stock was exhausted.

Miss Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*, the second book from her department, was issued in April, 1917, almost on the tenth anniversary of the first meeting of the Trustees. It has been a textbook for generations of students. Many readers with only a general interest in social work have learned from it, and it holds wisdom for many more in years to come. It is the oldest Foundation book still in print.

LIFE OF EARLY BOOKS

Seven of the books published in the first decade were out of print before the end of 1917. Only one, *Social Diagnosis*, remained on the active list as this record closed in October, 1946.

For the greater part of the first 47 books long life was not desired. A brief existence was an indication that they had fulfilled their purpose. They described evils—not for the sake of describing them, but to excite concern, and to point the way toward control. The sooner their descriptions were of mere historic interest, the better pleased would be everybody concerned. Others presented an approved method of work, or a new method that had promise. Such a book also became out of date in proportion to its effectiveness. Books that would not get out of date were those that embodied philosophy of human relations or knowledge of fundamental requirements for human welfare. *Social Diagnosis* was a distinguished example.

XVIII

GRANTS: 1907-1917

HUNDREDS of applications for grants were received by the Foundation in its first few years. At the end of 1909 the director reported there had been about 800, including some duplications. A large proportion came from scattered local societies and institutions, schools and colleges, settlements and clubs, hospitals, libraries, museums, churches, missions and other kinds of agencies that were outside the scope of the Foundation as delimited by the Trustees. Others were from individuals who offered manuscripts for publication or who wished to make investigations. Some were from national associations with an object that might be within the Foundation's scope, but with only a nebulous organization, no executive officer and no central office. As time passed, and the policies of the Foundation became better known, the number of applications decreased. In 1910-1911 there were 144; in 1914-1915, only 90. How many in all there were in the first ten years it would take a great deal of work to discover. There were fewer than had been anticipated.

FIRST TEN YEARS' GRANTS

In the opening decade of the Foundation's work, grants were made to 47 agencies,¹ to some of them for several different purposes. Most of these agencies received their initial grants in the first three years of the Foundation's existence. After that, as income was falling and was likely to be further curtailed for a few years, and as several of the early grantees seemed likely to be a continuing responsibility, new commitments were made sparingly. Applications for renewal were strictly scrutinized, and were approved only in instances where the Foundation felt a special responsibility. Percentage reductions were resorted to, with deviations in special cases. Renewals were made for six

¹ Items 1-47 in the list in Appendix D. Grants for work that developed into departments of the Foundation are not included; nor appropriations for special studies, publications, and other undertakings that were the direct responsibility of the general director.

months instead of a year, with an explicit warning that they carried no commitment for further renewal. In October, 1914, when the war had begun in Europe, it was decided that, "in view of the present uncertainties in the financial situation, obligations¹ should not be assumed for more than three months." In the last two years of the decade only nine agencies received grants, all of which were renewals of earlier grants.

The amount spent in grants from April, 1907, to the end of the fiscal year 1916-1917 was nearly \$1,800,000. About half of it went to three organizations:²

State Charities Aid Association of New York	\$384,500
Charity Organization Society of the City of New York	284,750 ³
Charities Publication Committee and Survey Associates, Inc.	222,700 ³

As the main object of grants, throughout the life of the Foundation, has been the development of sound social work, preference has been given to agencies that are "fundamental, general, co-operative, or that are developing special fields."⁴ The list for the first decade, notwithstanding concentration of the money in a few agencies, contains a rich variety. In the subjects, methods, and hopes it represents, it is typical of the social work in America in the decade preceding the World War. The chief objects for which grants were made were extension of the new educational movements in health and social welfare already under way, help in launching others of an analogous kind, aid in demonstrating the value of new methods of care of individuals, development of the national journal of social work, and strengthening of the four existing schools for training social workers.

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

The grant made in May, 1907, to Charities Publication Committee, primarily for developing the periodical it published, was

¹ For direct work as well as for grants.

² All three continued to receive grants after 1917.

³ Charities Publication Committee was a part of the Charity Organization Society until Survey Associates was organized in 1912 to continue its work.

⁴ From a memorandum by Mr. Glenn.

renewed annually to the end of the decade, and beyond. In April, 1909, the name of the periodical was changed from *Charities and the Commons* to *The Survey*, with the subtitle "A journal of constructive philanthropy." In 1912 Survey Associates, Inc., a co-operative enterprise independent of the Charity Organization Society, was organized to carry on and expand the work of Charities Publication Committee. Grants from the Foundation to the end of 1916-1917 averaged nearly \$20,000 a year.

During these years the scope of the magazine was greatly enlarged in both geographical and topical coverage and in circulation. Its educational influence was also increased by a press service to leading papers in all parts of the country. It was adopted as regular assigned reading for many university classes. Well-planned special numbers on timely topics were issued. Photographs by Lewis W. Hine and other illustrations added vividness to verbal description of working and living conditions. It went beyond its traditional field of "charities" and "constructive philanthropy" to discuss broad problems of industrial relations and public policy on many questions affecting the general welfare; and it brought to its American audience an increasing amount of news about developments in England and other foreign countries. In October, 1915, it changed its subtitle to "A journal of social exploration." By 1917 it was the recognized source of current information on social conditions and social work in the United States and in addition to its regular subscribers it had over a thousand "co-operating subscribers" who paid \$10 or more annually.

SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

Grants "for investigations to be made for the Foundation" by the four schools for training social workers that were in existence in 1907 were renewed for several years. In the case of the Boston, Chicago, and St. Louis Schools grants were continued through the academic year 1914-1915. The New York School discontinued its Bureau of Research in the summer of 1912, and the Foundation took several of the fellows on its own staff in order

that they might finish the investigations they were working on. The aggregate amount given for this purpose was nearly \$246,700.

One possibility the Foundation had in mind in making these grants was that it might use the Schools as agents for making investigations for it, but the experience pointed in the opposite direction, toward centralizing responsibility in its own staff. The other objects in view at the beginning were realized. The Schools were enabled to strengthen their teaching staffs and to enrich their curricula.¹ The fellowships in research attracted capable students, many of whom became college teachers, directors of research, or executives of social agencies. The studies stimulated local interest in social problems and were useful in plans for local social work.² They resulted in a number of publications³—books, pamphlets, and articles—which were valuable additions to the material in print at the time. Two studies by fellows of the New York School led to the establishment of the Foundation's Division of Remedial Loans, with one of the fellows as its first director.

TUBERCULOSIS

In amount of money given by the Foundation, the anti-tuberculosis movement led during this decade. Something like half a million dollars was contributed to it before 1918.

One of the Foundation's first acts was to provide for a tuberculosis exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition of 1907. It made a contribution toward the expenses of the International Congress on Tuberculosis, which was to meet in Washington the following year. It made annual appropriations to the pioneering committee of the Charity Organization Society⁴ and its counterpart in the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities. Local activities of these years

¹ After the first four years the Boston School used its grant toward extending its course by a second year of instruction, which included some practice in research.

² In St. Louis, for example, a comprehensive survey was made of all aspects of child life, and the findings were presented to the public in various ways, including a child welfare exhibit.

³ See p. 217 for those published by the Foundation.

⁴ This committee had become part of the Society's Department for the Improvement of Social Conditions when the Department was established in January, 1907. About four-fifths of the large amount appropriated to the Society from 1907 through 1917 was for the Department and its committees; the rest was for its School of Philanthropy.

included bringing the exhibit of the International Congress to New York, where it was seen by more than a million visitors; organizing an Italian committee and other special committees among foreign groups in the city; introducing experimental fresh-air classes for anemic children in the public schools, and stimulating consideration for better ventilation for all school-rooms; providing material for elementary instruction about tuberculosis in the schools; carrying on campaigns to increase resources for treatment; organizing the Association of Tuberculosis Clinics; participating in a study of bovine tuberculosis in the state; conducting a study of the Health Department's work in the control of tuberculosis, which resulted in a reorganization of the Bureau of Preventable Disease and an increase in its budget.

Very substantial help was given to the State Charities Aid Association for the purpose of organizing similar committees in the counties and cities of the state outside New York City.¹ Without this help the Association could not, at that time at least, have launched its campaign. It was carried on energetically and effectively under the direction of John A. Kingsbury and later George J. Nelbach. In 1910 a goal was set of "No Uncared-for Tuberculosis (in the State) in 1915." State and county hospitals were built, clinic services were established, the number of public health nurses was multiplied. The Association's Tuberculosis Committee early extended its scope to other aspects of health. To its guidance chiefly was due the passage of a revised and greatly strengthened public health law in 1913; the unbroken succession since then of highly qualified state commissioners of health, with no changes because of political considerations; and a developing volume of state legislation related to health.

To the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis contributions were made throughout the decade—to collect data about the status of the movement in the United States, to enlarge its traveling exhibit, to establish and maintain a national press service, to carry its exhibits and other field work into southern and western states. After 1912 the grants were

¹ The grants for this purpose account for about 60 per cent of the large amount appropriated to the Association from 1907 through 1917.

reduced in size. By 1917 the income of these two associations from seal sales and other sources had so increased that there seemed to be no special reason why the Foundation should continue to make grants for their work against tuberculosis.

HOUSING

Organized interest in the improvement of housing was still, in 1907, limited to a few large cities, but the Tenement House Committee of the New York Charity Organization Society had served increasingly as a national center of information since its creation in 1898. To this committee from the summer of 1907, and to the corresponding committee of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities from early in 1910, the Foundation made annual contributions toward the support of their local programs: continuous study of local conditions and proposed legislation, co-operation with the Tenement House Department, popular education, stimulation of landlords and tenants to a sense of their responsibilities, campaigns to promote desirable bills in the state legislature and to defeat undesirable measures.

Another city where activities were on foot to improve housing conditions was Washington. In the spring of 1906 Charities and the Commons had issued a special number on social problems in the national capital, which contained a report on the shocking conditions in the alley homes of the city. About the time Russell Sage Foundation was organized President Theodore Roosevelt named a commission to make a thorough study of housing in Washington and recommend measures for improvement. In view of the national responsibility for social and living conditions at the seat of the federal government, the Foundation made a contribution to the expenses of the Commission.

In the summer of 1909 Lawrence Veiller, secretary of the New York Committee, suggested to Mr. de Forest that the time had come when a national organization was needed in the field of housing, similar to those in the fields of child labor and tuberculosis. The National Housing Association was organized¹ and

¹ Mr. de Forest president, Mr. Glenn treasurer, Mr. Veiller secretary and director.

in December, 1909, Russell Sage Foundation made a grant for the expenses of the first year. Grants were renewed year after year, constituting the Association's chief source of support. "Arousing interest" throughout the United States and helping the interest to become effective when aroused were the first objects of the Association. The principal means employed were national conferences, publications of various kinds,¹ a press service, field visits, consultation on surveys and legislation, informal programs of instruction in New York and institutes in other cities for persons attracted to work in the housing field. By 1916, the secretary reported, all but 15 of the 100 cities of 50,000 population or more were "aroused" and five of those 15 had "begun to show an interest." Thus the first (or "stimulating") phase of the Association's history came to an end about the time the United States entered the war.

For several years Grosvenor Atterbury had been experimenting, at his own expense, in the use of concrete blocks to reduce the cost of construction of houses and lessen the cost of insurance and upkeep. From 1908 the Foundation supplied him with funds to continue the experiments at Sewaren, New Jersey, and later at Forest Hills Gardens, where facilities for manufacturing the blocks were provided. A row of houses was built of his blocks in Forest Hills Gardens as a test and an exhibit of the practicability of his ideas with satisfactory results.

CHILD LABOR, SOUTHERN EDUCATION, LABOR LEGISLATION

Assistance in smaller amounts and extending over briefer periods was given to three other established educational movements.² In none of these cases were any grants made after 1914.

The child labor movement was well started when the Foundation was created. The National Child Labor Committee had been organized in 1904 and in 1907 it needed funds to push its

¹ Three books by Mr. Veiller were published by the Foundation. (See p. 215.)

² The playground movement also, which was just getting started, was "put on its feet" with the aid of the Foundation, but that was accomplished through "direct work," not by grants. (See pp. 33, 70-72.) The only grant by the Trustees direct to the Playground Association of America was for the expense of an exhibit at Jamestown. (See p. 20.)

campaign into new territory. Grants from the Foundation for a few years enabled it to establish an office in Cincinnati and to carry on investigations, educational propaganda, and organization of public opinion in the Ohio Valley states and in the rapidly developing industrial sections of the South, under the direction of Edward N. Clopper and A. J. McKelway respectively. Shocking facts about the employment of children in cotton mills, in glass and cigar factories, in canneries, in coal mines, mercantile establishments, and street trades, were discovered and put on record, and important protective legislation was added to the statutes of 10 or 12 states.

Similarly, annual contributions to the Southern Education Board for seven years enabled the Board to extend its work into Kentucky and Arkansas. It was organized in 1901 by Robert C. Ogden, who was its president continuously until his death in 1913. Its members were prominent northern and southern men who were keenly interested in its purposes. It was supported by gifts from the Peabody Education Fund and other foundations and a few individuals. Its aim was to stimulate public opinion in the South to give active support to increasing expenditures for public schools. To that end it sought the co-operation of local educational authorities and community leaders, and carried on local campaigns through meetings and the distribution of informative printed material. Its success in arousing sentiment in favor of increasing state and local taxes to pay for longer school terms, better teaching, and improved housing and equipment for schools was remarkable. In 1915 the work was taken over by the General Education Board and the Southern Education Board disbanded.

In 1911 the American Association for Labor Legislation (organized in 1906) asked help from the Foundation in financing an expanded program that would require a greatly enlarged budget. The current interest in industrial accidents and workmen's compensation (stimulated by studies of the Pittsburgh Survey), and in the working conditions of women and children, made it especially important that the Association should be in position to take advantage of opportunities to guide that interest. A year or so

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earlier the Foundation had made a small appropriation to the New York State Branch of the Association, in order that it might supply the newly appointed Employers' Liability Commission of New York with the services of Miss Crystal Eastman¹ as its secretary. The Foundation now made the contribution requested by the Association toward the expenses of its expanded national program, renewed it in half the amount the following year, and made a smaller final grant the third year—smaller only because of "the small margin of income available for grants" at that time.

INFANT MORTALITY

Several new educational movements were launched after Russell Sage Foundation was established and before the demands of the war checked the multiplication of agencies. In the development of three of these the Foundation had a part.

Soon after the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality was organized in November, 1909, the Foundation promised to give the Association, toward its first year's expenses, an amount equal to what it should raise from other sources in the calendar year 1910, but not to exceed \$2,000. The Association earned the \$2,000. In 1911 it asked for \$1,000, which was granted, with the understanding that no more would be given. The Foundation's Child-Helping Department also gave special attention to the subject for several years.

CRIMINAL COURTS

A local movement to improve the courts of inferior criminal jurisdiction of New York City, namely, the magistrates' courts and the Court of Special Sessions, originated in 1910 in a proposal by Mr. Veiller, director of the Charity Organization Society's Department for the Improvement of Social Conditions. A Committee on Criminal Courts was organized, taking its place in the Department with the earlier committees on tuberculosis and on housing. A little later an affiliated committee was organized by the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.

¹ See p. 212.

These committees were practically supported from the outset by grants from the Foundation. They worked quietly in co-operation with public officials, deliberately avoiding publicity. The workings of the courts were studied from the point of view of social welfare, particularly as they affected children and family relations; administrative changes were suggested; every bill affecting them was analyzed on its introduction, and the Committee's views were put before legislators and persons whose judgment might have influence with them; and legislative proposals were drafted for introduction in the legislature.

In the years before the war the outstanding achievements of the Committee of the Charity Organization Society were the general revision of the Inferior Criminal Courts Act of the City of New York, effective May 8, 1915, which it prepared and sponsored; improvement in the standards of probation work in the magistrates' courts; replacement of the Essex Market Court, long notorious for its bad physical conditions, by a new well-planned building; erection of the Children's Court in East Twenty-second Street; and extension of the use of fingerprinting as a means of identification. The Brooklyn Committee secured improvements in physical accommodations of the magistrates' courts and toward the end of this decade the construction of a juvenile court building. It also devoted a great deal of attention to the treatment of prostitutes and professional beggars.

PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS

To prevent blindness was the aim of a new educational movement that the Foundation had a large part in starting. When the Foundation was organized the New York Association for the Blind was at work helping blind persons to make use of their own abilities and resources and in other ways. One of the Foundation's first grants was made to it. There was at work also a State Commission to Investigate the Condition of the Blind, appointed in 1903, under the chairmanship of Dr. F. Park Lewis of Buffalo.

On the initiative of Miss Schuyler, whose interest was excited by a report of the Commission concerning preventable blindness in babies, the Foundation appointed a committee to consider

what should be done to prevent blindness. On April 27, 1908, she, Mrs. Rice, and Mr. Glenn were appointed members of that committee. Within a few days they decided, in conference with Dr. Lewis, Miss Winifred Holt, and others, that a special committee of the New York Association for the Blind should be appointed to promote measures for the prevention of blindness in the state. The Foundation made a grant for its expenses. As a first step Miss Schuyler, with Dr. Lewis' help, wrote a pamphlet describing in simple language ophthalmia neonatorum and the use of silver nitrate in babies' eyes immediately after birth to prevent it. This pamphlet was widely distributed with good effect far beyond the boundaries of the state.

As the work of the Association's committee became known, many requests for information and advice came to it from other parts of the country. The American Medical Association also was receiving letters asking "What shall we do? and how?" To meet this situation the Foundation at the request of its committee in December, 1909, made an appropriation to carry on active educational propaganda on a national scale. Samuel Ely Eliot was engaged as executive secretary and began work on May 15, 1910. Within a year state associations had been organized in Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri, and a considerable amount of general educational work had been done.

By this time plans had been matured for an independent national organization of wide scope which might be expected to command substantial support, to be called American Association for the Conservation of Vision. The Foundation's committee, accordingly, recommended that its own work, together with all its property and the unexpended balance of its appropriation, be transferred to the new national Association. At the meeting of the Trustees on May 22, 1911, the committee was discharged.

Expectations for the Association for the Conservation of Vision were disappointed. Within a short time it had spent the money given by the Foundation and was in debt. Activity was suspended. Through the efforts of some of its directors, with the co-operation of the members of the Foundation's former committee, plans for a new start were developed, and in May, 1914,

a five-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, matching the grant Russell Sage Foundation was ready to make, gave a sound financial base for proceeding. By a happy coincidence, Edward M. Van Cleve of Ohio, who had been one of the active promoters of the national movement, came to New York just at this time as principal of the New York Institution for the Education of the Blind, and agreed to act as managing director of the new national organization. From the start the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness (the name adopted for the new organization) was a live, going concern. The New York Association's committee, to which the Foundation had continued to make grants for educational work in the state, became one of its standing committees. Grants to the National Committee were continued for several years, until it no longer needed the Foundation's help.¹

CHILD WELFARE

Somewhat different from the so-called "educational movements," though educational in character, was the work of the State Charities Aid Association in promoting better care of dependent children throughout the state. To this end the Association, before Russell Sage Foundation was created, had organized committees of local citizens in Newburgh and in Columbia and Rockland Counties, with the object of enlisting the attention and help of intelligent and public-spirited citizens in the work of public officials. The function of these committees was to raise the standards of care for children who were public charges through contact with officials and the education of the public. Special emphasis was laid on the employment of trained social workers to deal with individual children according to the needs of each one.

This was a pioneer undertaking. Not only did it benefit thousands of children in the rural areas and small towns of New York, but it influenced activities and policies elsewhere. Grants from Russell Sage Foundation were the chief source of support for the

¹ A full account of these events was given by Mr. Glenn in an address "Personal Reminiscences" at the annual conference of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Inc., October 26, 1939; published in *The Sight-Saving Review*, September, 1940.

Association's Committee on Dependent Children from 1907 on for a number of years.¹

Other appropriations in the field of child welfare were made for a study of juvenile-court laws in the United States; toward the expenses of the First White House Conference on the care of dependent children; to the New York Child Welfare Committee for its comprehensive exhibit held in 1911; and to a committee formed by several of the leading philanthropic agencies of New York in the spring of 1913 to investigate the need for "widows' pensions" in the city.

AMBULANCES AND HOSPITALS, NEW YORK CITY

In addition to the support given to the State Charities Aid Association for purposes already mentioned, smaller grants were made to it for two objects primarily affecting New York City. One was the formulation of a plan for the co-ordination of ambulance service in the city and winning acceptance of the plan by the Department of Public Charities, its public hospitals, and the voluntary hospitals co-operating with the city. The adoption of this plan led to the creation of a board to supervise ambulance service in the city and to important improvements in methods of operation. The other was a study of the needs of the city for public hospitals for the next decade—the number, size, and type that should be provided and where they should be placed. This study, directed by Bailey B. Burritt, contributed greatly to the better integration of the public and voluntary hospitals of the city and their adaptation to the needs of the population.

SCHOOL GARDENS

In the opening years of the century there was a lively interest in "school gardens"—vegetable or flower gardens, on school grounds or in parks or on private property, cultivated by boys and girls of school age. One of the pioneers was Mrs. Henry Parsons, president of the International School Farm League, who in 1901 had started a garden in De Witt Clinton Park in New York City. It was to Mrs. Parsons that the Foundation entrusted

¹ The grants for this purpose in the first decade account for about 25 per cent of the total appropriated to the State Charities Aid Association in that period.

its grant for an exhibit at Jamestown. Another grant was made toward the expense of a summer course for school-garden teachers conducted at New York University by Henry G. Parsons. This grant was renewed annually from 1908 on until in 1918 responsibility for the training course was assumed by the New York Botanical Garden.

In Yonkers, under the leadership of Miss Mary Marshall Butler, gardens had been cultivated for several years by the Fairview School Gardens Association, with hearty co-operation from the public school officials. Conditions in Yonkers seemed exceptionally favorable for making a test of the value of such enterprises. To make conditions still more favorable, the Foundation in 1908 bought the land in use and leased it to the Association for a nominal sum. Next year it bought some adjacent lots, on which were a house and a stable, built fences, and remodeled the house for winter activities. By 1912 more than \$60,000 had been spent, and the Foundation decided it could not assume any further expense for the demonstration. It did not, however, cancel the lease but allowed the Association to use the property until it was offered for sale in 1921. The net cost to the Foundation, after deducting the amount received from the sale of the property, was about \$25,000.

It was at Miss Butler's suggestion that the Foundation arranged with Miss Greene, who already had a wide acquaintance with the subject and was conducting a school garden in New Haven at the time, to prepare the manual published in 1910,¹ which was a practical handbook of such explicit directions that with its aid a novice could start a school garden.

PROTECTION OF GIRLS

When Miss Maude E. Miner in 1907 began work as a probation officer in the Night Court in New York City she met many girls who, she was confident, might be saved from becoming confirmed prostitutes if they could be helped to find suitable employment with adequate wages and a place to stay where they would meet with sympathetic understanding and guidance dur-

¹ See p. 216.

ing a transition period. Within a few months she and her sister, Miss Stella A. Miner, undertook to get together the necessary funds and to open a small homelike residence near the Night Court. Miss Miner asked the Foundation to help and obtained the promise of a grant for half the estimated cost of procuring and carrying on such a house (Waverly House, it was called) for one year, payable when the other half had been raised from other sources. The Miners were able to meet the condition and to open Waverly House.

The following year Miss Miner and her associates organized the New York Probation Association to carry on Waverly House, to find positions for girls and women in danger of becoming professional prostitutes, to study the problem of commercialized vice, especially with reference to the courts and probation, to aid in the prosecution of procurers and white-slave traffickers, and to promote the development of a sane public opinion. A year or two later the Association developed a system of protective leagues, with district headquarters throughout the city, which had for their object to discover girls in need of guidance before they came into court, and to report dangerous conditions in tenement houses, workshops, and places of amusement. In harmony with this development, "and Protective" was added after "Probation" in the name of the Association in 1911. The Foundation made annual contributions to its work through the rest of the decade, and beyond.

Another agency that was doing important work in this field in New York was the Committee of Fourteen, which was studying the extent of prostitution in the city, the conditions that favored it, and legislative methods. In January, 1910, it had a valuable report ready for publication, including a codification of the laws relating to the practice of prostitution in tenement houses. The Foundation made a small grant to enable the Committee to print the report.

AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS

Although not a new organization, the American National Red Cross in 1908 was organizing a new branch of work. Experience

in San Francisco in 1906 had demonstrated the important part it could play in relief operations following disasters that overtaxed local agencies. In 1908 an Emergency Relief Board was appointed and Ernest P. Bicknell, executive of the United Charities of Chicago, who had shared responsibility in directing the relief work in San Francisco after the great earthquake and fire in 1906, was engaged as national director of emergency relief. The plan involved development of national policies and procedures, and arranging for co-operation of charity organization societies and other local agencies throughout the country, with a view to assembling quickly the nucleus of an experienced staff whenever and wherever an unpredictable disaster occurred.

For five years, until the system was well established and financial support was assured from other sources, the Foundation made grants for the new department. The primary object was to enable the American Red Cross to retain the services of Mr. Bicknell.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS

The brief depression following the "panic" of October, 1907, when Russell Sage Foundation was only a few months old, was sharp enough to call attention to the inadequate facilities for finding work. In the fall of 1908 Jacob H. Schiff asked the Charity Organization Society to call a conference to consider establishing a privately financed employment bureau, conducted on a business basis. It was agreed that before calling the conference an examination should be made of the need for such an agency in New York. On behalf of Russell Sage Foundation Mr. de Forest offered to meet the expense, and the general secretary of the Society, Edward T. Devine, was asked to make the inquiry. His report was printed by the Foundation,¹ primarily for the convenience of Mr. Schiff and his friends. Early in 1909 they established the National Employment Exchange, Inc., with a

¹ Under the cumbersome but accurate title Report on the Desirability of Establishing an Employment Bureau in the City of New York. It was of book size but was bound in paper, as it was expected to have only temporary interest. Most of the copies were distributed free; over 150 were sold. Mr. Devine was reimbursed for expenses but declined compensation for his work.

working capital of \$100,000. The Trustees of the Foundation authorized a subscription of \$25,000, but only \$19,000 was needed. This money was subscribed out of income and was therefore in the nature of a grant rather than an investment, but it yielded dividends at the rate of 6 per cent for many years.

Small grants were made in 1909 and 1910 to the Alliance Employment Bureau to enable it to continue its placement work for girls in factory and office positions. In 1913 the Foundation and the New York School of Philanthropy contributed equal amounts to the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations, toward the cost of maintaining a branch office for social workers in the United Charities Building.

DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY

Typhoid fever was endemic in Pittsburgh at the time of the Pittsburgh Survey. The Survey itself could not do more than point out the fact and call attention to the need for study. The Pittsburgh Typhoid Commission, composed of scientific experts, was formed early in 1908, under the chairmanship of Professor William T. Sedgwick of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to study the incidence of typhoid fever in the city, with particular reference to the influence of filtration of the water supply. The Foundation provided altogether about \$15,000 for the cost of this investigation. It resulted in a valuable technical report which the Foundation released for use by the United States Public Health Service. Its findings were also put to constructive use in Pittsburgh.

After the facts revealed by the Survey had been made public—by an elaborate exhibit in Pittsburgh, as well as by articles, addresses, and discussions while the studies were in progress—the Pittsburgh Civic Commission was appointed by the Mayor, early in 1909, to give effect to the findings by making the improvements indicated. At the request of the chairman of the Commission, H. D. W. English, president of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, the Foundation made a contribution toward the expense of the Commission's work. Mr. English did not expect continued support but he thought this evidence of the

Foundation's confidence and interest would be a good base for an appeal to wealthy citizens of Pittsburgh.

The interest aroused by the Pittsburgh Survey exhibit suggested that it might be useful in other large industrial centers. It was proposed to add material from other localities and take it on a tour of half-a-dozen cities, provided local co-operation could be obtained. The Foundation made an appropriation for this purpose in the spring of 1909 and the exhibit was shown in several cities.

COMMISSION ON COUNTRY LIFE

In August, 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed a small commission, under the chairmanship of Liberty Hyde Bailey, director of the New York State College of Agriculture,¹ to report to him on "the present condition of country life" and advise him on measures that should be taken to improve it. He wanted their report in a hurry—before the end of December.

No funds were provided for the expenses of the Commission. With the franking privilege, and with help from the Department of Agriculture, the Census Bureau, and many organizations and individuals, it set about gathering the views of half a million representative persons in all parts of the United States. To supplement this material the Commission wished to hold public hearings in different sections of the country, but had no money for traveling expenses. It turned to the Foundation, which promptly granted its request for \$5,000. Besides this grant the Commission received only a few hundred dollars from its members and their friends.

With this help it was able to hold hearings in 30 widely separated places in the course of six weeks. Under date of January 23, 1909, it submitted an admirable report to the President, who in turn transmitted it to the Congress. To his disappointment, Congress was not willing to give the Commission official

¹ The other members were Henry Wallace, publisher of *Wallace's Farmer*, Des Moines, Iowa; Kenyon L. Butterfield, president of Massachusetts Agricultural College; Gifford Pinchot, head of the United States Forest Service; Walter H. Page, editor of *The World's Work*; and later Charles S. Barrett of Georgia and William A. Beard of California.

status and an appropriation for continuing its work. The report was published as a Senate Document. The introductory summary, with the President's Message, was sent to the press. Two years later (March, 1911) the full report was issued in a small 150-page book by a commercial publisher.¹ It was reprinted in September of the same year, and again in 1917.

Some months after the Commission made its report, Gifford Pinchot, one of its members, wrote Mr. Glenn that in his judgment its work, "made possible by the Russell Sage Foundation," had "opened the way to the complete readjustment of country life in the United States."

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES

Several international organizations in the field of social work held meetings in the United States between 1908 and 1913. The Foundation contributed to the expenses of three of these gatherings, all held in Washington: The International Congress on Tuberculosis (1908); the International Prison Congress (1910); and the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography (1912). Besides this financial help, the general director and members of the staff served on organizing and program committees of all three congresses.

OTHER GRANTS IN FIRST DECADE

Most of the work done by the Foundation through other agencies in the first decade has been described briefly in the preceding pages. The grants not yet mentioned were one-of-a-kind and together they account for less than 3 per cent of the total expenditure for grants during this period. The title of the agency concerned, the purpose, and the amount of the grant, as given in the list in Appendix D, will suffice for most of them. A few which have a special interest for one reason or another are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Manhattan Trade School. This school was a pioneer venture under private auspices for training girls in some of the industrial

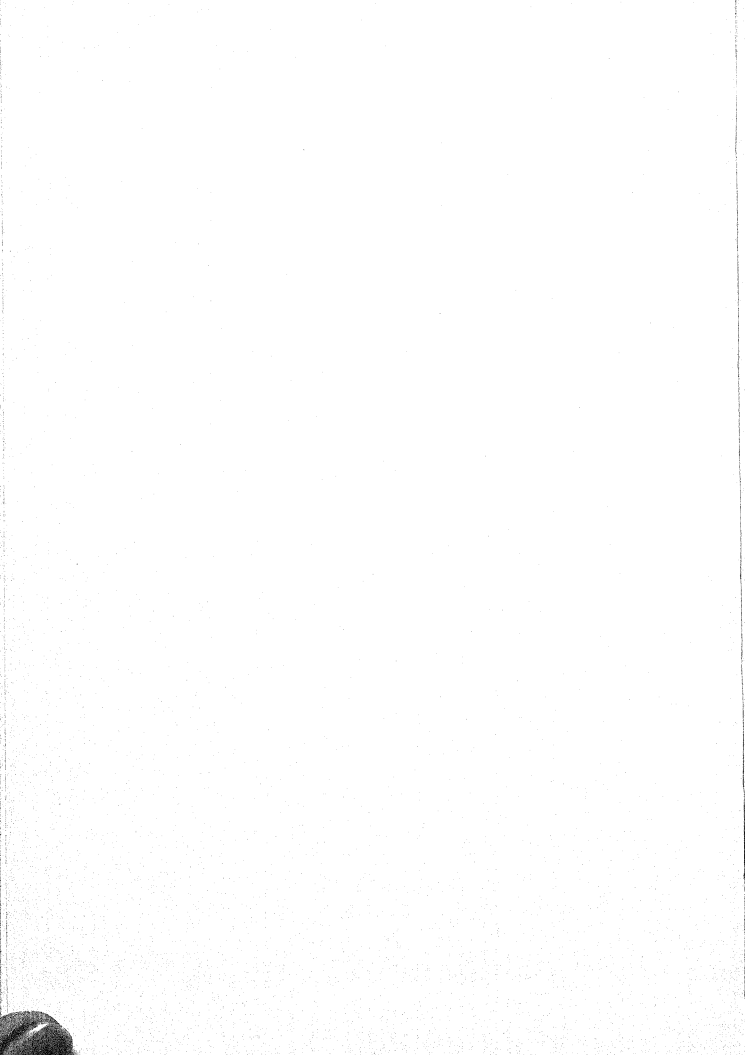
¹ Sturgis and Walton, New York.

occupations then open to them. The Foundation's grant of \$10,000 in January, 1908, was for the purpose of helping the School to make an effective demonstration. It was understood that the grant created no expectation of continued contributions. The School became part of the city's public school system in 1910.

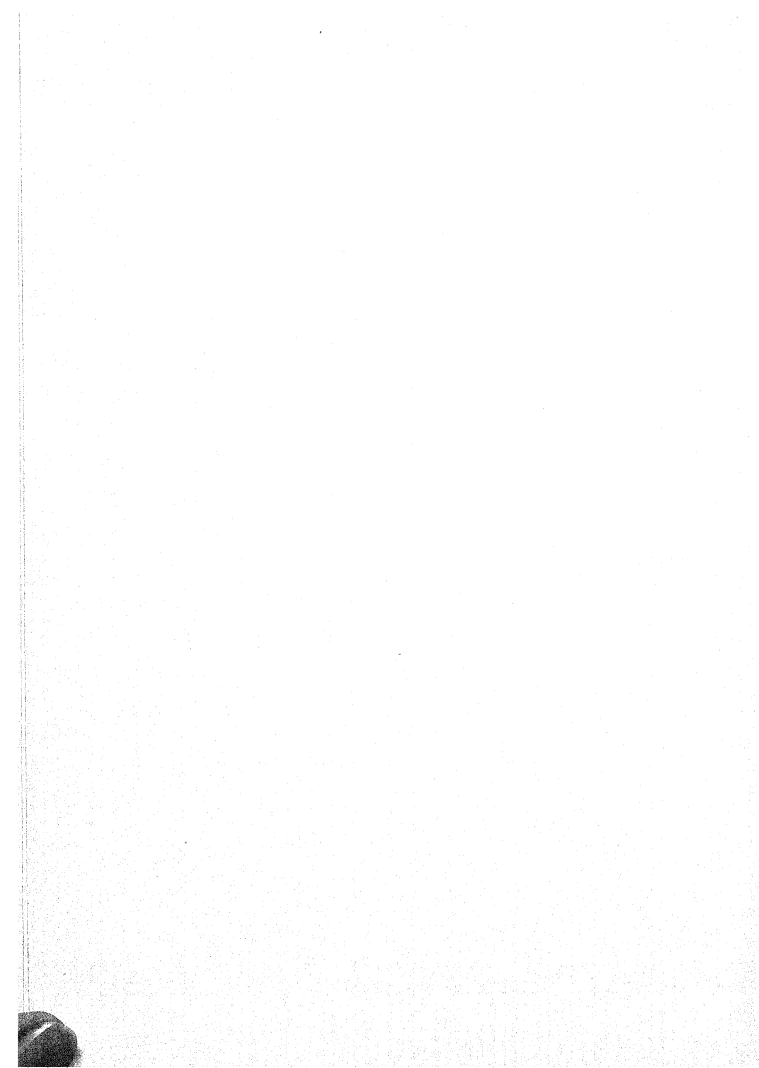
Social Halls Association. In 1909 the Association applied to the Foundation for a loan, to be secured by a mortgage on Clinton Hall, which it had built in 1905 to provide a decent place on the lower East Side for meetings and social gatherings. Instead of granting the loan, the Foundation subscribed \$15,000 to stock of the Association. Like the subscription to stock of the National Employment Exchange this was a grant out of income, not an investment of capital, though an expectation of dividends was not unreasonable. When the Association was liquidated, after the war, stockholders received 37 per cent of their contributions.

American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. When the Institute was established in 1909 it was apparent that a periodical would be indispensable, for there was none in its field published in English. In February, 1910, the president of the Institute (Dean John H. Wigmore of Northwestern University) asked the Foundation for \$2,000 to supplement \$3,000 already pledged. He estimated that \$5,000 would pay the cost of publishing the Journal for the first year and building up a subscription list that would make it self-supporting thereafter. His request was granted and his expectations were fulfilled.

Central Bureau of Colored Fresh-Air Agencies. In 1910 there was little exchange of information or co-operation of any sort among the many fresh-air agencies of New York City. Those dealing with colored children were persuaded by L. Hollingsworth Wood that a central bureau would be useful and they agreed to register their children and co-operate in making it a success. But they could not meet the expense. The Foundation gave \$500 for the experimental first summer (1910) and \$1,500 the following year, when the Bureau was under the auspices of the newly organized Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes.



PART THREE
WAR



XIX

WAR SERVICE: 1917-1919

IN THE spring of 1917, when it seemed probable that the United States would soon be engaged in the European conflict, the staff of Russell Sage Foundation began considering what help it could offer the government in case of need. On March 20, before the President had declared that a state of war existed between the United States and Germany, Mr. Glenn and Mr. Ayres went to Washington to consult the Secretary of War, the director of the Council of National Defense, and the director-general of Civilian Relief of the American Red Cross. From their interviews they concluded that the statisticians of the Foundation could be useful at once; that if the United States should find it necessary to raise and train armies there would be need of such help as the Department of Recreation could give; and that there would undoubtedly be opportunities for contributions by other departments. On March 26 the Trustees discussed the general director's report of these conferences and referred the whole matter to the Executive Committee, with power to take action on specific proposals as they came up.

From this time until the autumn of 1919 the activities of the staff of the Foundation, as of many other social agencies, were determined to a considerable extent by opportunities to contribute to the prosecution of the war. Mr. Glenn served on the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, the War Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the executive committee of the New York County Chapter of the American Red Cross. Every department was affected in some degree, ranging from complete suspension of normal activities for thirty months to modifications of program and curtailment or interruption of work under way because of temporary absences.¹

¹ The Foundation continued to pay the salaries of those who went away until they were put on other payrolls, and then supplemented the new salaries if they were lower than had been received from the Foundation. It also provided office space rent free in its building for some war activities.

Participation in war work resulted in the loss of some members of the staff and the acquisition of others. Those who returned to the Foundation came back with enriched experience and broadened outlook. In the federal government five new bureaus or divisions¹ grew out of the wartime activities they had a part in organizing or administering.

STATISTICS

First of the staff to leave for war service was Mr. Ayres, who went to Washington in April, 1917, to organize a Division of Statistics for the Council of National Defense. He took with him not only his assistants in the Foundation's Division of Statistics but also the staff of the Division of Education, for they, too, had been engaged primarily in statistical studies. This gave him a nucleus of eight well-trained persons, accustomed to working together. Both divisions became inactive and remained so until October, 1919.

For the first few months the Council's new Division of Statistics was occupied less with statistics than with problems of organization, in which the experience of the staff in the surveys conducted by the Foundation stood them in good stead. They prepared 361 organization charts for the Council, the expanding Army and Navy Departments, and the new war agencies, and helped them install filing and record systems.

Statistics began to assume importance in the summer, when deliveries on war contracts were coming in and calls were increasing from the Army and its adjunct agencies for reliable information on which to base policies and plans. By October Mr. Ayres was in charge of statistics for the War Industries Board, the Priorities Committee, and the Allies' Purchasing Committee, as well as for the Council of National Defense. As the Army had no central statistical office, he began in August to prepare weekly reports of the progress of our war effort, assembling from scattered sources information as to men, supplies, and ships that was needed by the Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff and his generals in the United States, and General Pershing in France.

¹ See pp. 247, 251, 258, 260.

Early in 1918 it was decided that this work, so important to the Army and so confidential in nature, should be transferred to military auspices. A Statistics Branch of the General Staff was created in the War Department.¹ Mr. Ayres was put in charge and commissioned lieutenant colonel.² Mr. Richardson and Mr. Lutz, his assistants who had come with him from New York, received the rank of captain. His staff had now grown to about 50.

The Statistics Branch of the General Staff was an interpreting agency. Its function was to select from a mass of raw material the facts necessary to the men in positions of authority in deciding policies and day-to-day moves. Throughout his work, both for the Council of National Defense and for the Army, Colonel Ayres used the principles and techniques he had developed in his studies for the Foundation. He relied on graphic methods of presenting statistical facts. His aim was that each diagram should be so designed "that its meaning could not be missed or misunderstood."

The work of the Statistics Branch increased rapidly. Its confidential weekly reports consisted of essential facts on the status of preparations for war, presented chiefly in diagrams. Another weekly report, even more highly confidential, was made for the President. In addition, for five different groups of officials³ the material most pertinent for their respective responsibilities was selected, and was presented to them severally each week in lectures illustrated by simple wall charts.

In the spring of 1918 General Pershing asked for a statistical service at his headquarters in France. Officers who had a background that presumably would be useful were hunted out in the forces scattered over the country and brought together in Washington for an intensive course of instruction. At the end of May "Statistics Unit A" left for France.

¹ The War Department continued it as a permanent feature of its organization.

² In October, 1940, Colonel Ayres was called to active service in the War Department as chief statistician. He was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in July, 1941, and served until he reached retiring age in the following summer. He died in Cleveland on October 28, 1946.

³ The War Council, the generals in command of various divisions and bureaus of the War Department, the so-called Maritime Conference (men responsible for getting men and material to France), and the House and Senate Committees on Military Affairs.

The pace in France was even more exacting than it had been in Washington. An accurate, detailed, up-to-the-minute report had to be on General Pershing's desk every morning by 8:30, covering arrivals, losses, disposition, and condition of troops, equipment, and supplies of all kinds. To have it there every day—on time, adequate in substance, and easy to understand—was the basic duty of the Statistics Unit. The work was done under the direction of Colonel Ayres at General Headquarters and Mr. Richardson, now a lieutenant colonel, at headquarters of the Service of Supplies in Tours.

Toward the end of the summer Colonel Ayres represented the American Army in negotiations in England for British shipping that the United States then expected to need, and in a conference at Versailles called by the Supreme War Council to decide what information the Allied Armies should exchange with one another and what data they should supply regularly to Marshal Foch.

Early in October he went back to the United States with Secretary Baker to organize an extension of the statistical services. At this time he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and soon thereafter was appointed a member of the General Staff. By the time of the armistice the Statistics Branch had a force of about 250 persons. It had offices in Washington and three places in France: General Headquarters at Chaumont, headquarters of Service of Supplies at Tours, and at Paris. For a time after the armistice an office was maintained in Antwerp.

In November Colonel Ayres accompanied President Wilson to France as chief statistical officer of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. His office was concerned chiefly with the sections of the Peace Treaty relating to indemnities and economic matters. During the winter he served a tour of duty with the Army of Occupation in Germany. He returned to the United States again with Secretary Baker in the spring of 1919 to compile material that might be needed for an expected congressional inquiry. Incidentally he prepared a short statistical history of the war.¹ In June he received the Distinguished Service Medal.

¹ War with Germany: A Statistical Summary. Government Printing Office, Washington, 2d ed. revised, 1919.

RECREATION

Mr. Hanmer became involved in war work almost as early as Mr. Ayres and was absorbed in it for as long a period, but the transfer was less abrupt and there was not the same physical severance from the Foundation. On the contrary, he spent part of each week in his New York office; space was provided in the Foundation building for certain war activities in which he was directly or indirectly concerned; and the staff of the Department of Recreation, though soon almost completely occupied with helping on his new duties, remained in the Department's quarters.

The War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities,¹ to which Mr. Hanmer was appointed in April, 1917, was responsible for athletics, music, dramatics, entertainments, law enforcement, protective work for women and girls, sex hygiene instruction, and post exchanges in the camps. As one of the three members of its executive committee, and as a member of the corresponding commission of the Navy Department, he had a leading part in developing plans and policies for providing wholesome and enjoyable occupation for the men in training camps and on naval stations at home and later overseas, and in establishing relations with the affiliated "morale-making" agencies² and the professional and commercial organizations whose help was needed. His special responsibilities included drama, motion pictures, reading, and music.

By arrangement with the War Department, "liberty theatres" were erected in the National Army camps. Bookings for plays and concerts were made with professional actors and musicians. By charging a small admission fee it was possible to put these entertainments on a self-supporting basis. Amateur theatricals were developed. Through the co-operation of the motion picture producers and distributors, films were exhibited—36,000 feet a week

¹ See p. 84.

² War Camp Community Service (Playground and Recreation Association of America), Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Knights of Columbus, Salvation Army, Jewish Welfare Board, and American Library Association.

by the time of the armistice. Libraries for camps were organized through the American Library Association, which also managed the circulation of books and magazines contributed by the public.

Promotion of musical activities took a large part of Mr. Hammer's time. To assist in this—a field unfamiliar to him—he organized in August, 1917, the National Committee on Army and Navy Camp Music. Song leaders were trained—83 in the Army, 20 in the Navy—who organized quartets, glee clubs, and orchestras, and conducted mass singing. Songbooks were prepared and published. Group singing became a regular part of the official schedule at most of the training camps and naval stations. Bandmasters also were trained, primarily to give a demonstration of their value. The War Department for the first time gave commissions to bandmasters. Before the war ended plans were under way to establish schools for bandmen and bandmasters in both the Army and Navy. Another demonstration consisted in supplying music in military hospitals, in the hope that it would prove its therapeutic value and would commend itself to the Surgeon-General for adoption as a permanent feature of treatment.

It fell to Mr. Perry to help develop the system of post exchanges. As a result of a report he drafted for the Commission on Training Camp Activities in the summer of 1917, the Commission was asked by the General Staff to suggest the initial stocks of goods for the 128 post exchanges; to select 16 civilians competent to supervise the regimental exchanges, who would be commissioned as captains in the Quartermaster Corps and assigned to the 16 National Army Divisions; and to give them a course of training for their duties. Mr. Perry thought of the post exchange as a sort of social center. He included his own name in his list of recommendations, was commissioned, and was assigned to the 77th Division at Camp Upton on Long Island as division post exchange officer.

In April, 1918, Captain Perry went to France with his division. He was promoted to the rank of major in October and became division paymaster. Just before leaving France he was made division quartermaster. After his regiment was mustered out Major Perry was ordered to Washington for duty with the Chief

of Finance. He did not receive his discharge from the Army until October, 1919.

Mr. Hanmer kept civilian status throughout his long service to the fighting forces. During the greater part of the last year he was acting chairman of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities. In the first nine months of 1919 the Commission was reorganized to meet the needs of the period of demobilization, and plans were made for permanent provision within the Army for such activities as had been carried on during the war through civilian agencies. On September 15, 1919, by General Order No. 109, an Education-Recreation Branch (including a section intended to systematize and strengthen the work of the Army chaplains) was established in the War Plans Division of the General Staff. Similarly the work of the Navy Commission was taken over early in 1919 by the Bureau of Navigation and reorganized as the Sixth Division of the Bureau, responsible for the educational, recreational, and moral interests of the sailors.

Thus the work developed through civilian initiative in the interest of the general welfare of the fighting forces in time of war made for itself a place in the regular military and naval establishments of the nation.¹ As the men in the service were demobilized and returned to their homes, effects of the Commission's activities were seen in a nationwide increase of interest in community music and dramatics.

STATE PROGRAMS

Dr. Hart's contributions to winning the war were not limited to the field of child welfare. They began with his advisory service to the Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor in April, 1917,² and included a number of patriotic addresses for the National Security League. Most distinctive was a series of "social programs" prepared for four southern states on the request in each

¹ In World War II the leisure-time programs for men in training and on post were administered by the Army and the Navy themselves, not delegated to voluntary agencies. The voluntary agencies were encouraged and assisted by the Army and the Navy to operate in nearby communities, at embarkation ports, and in other places frequented by men on leave or in transit.

² See p. 114.

case of the Governor and the State Council of Defense. Each of these programs was based on a survey of state institutions and other agencies for social welfare. Each one included suggestions not only for the mobilization of these resources in the current national emergency but also for improving the state's provisions for all its wards and promoting the general social welfare of the population in years to come.

West Virginia was the first of the series. At the National Conference of Social Work in June, 1917, a delegation from West Virginia asked Russell Sage Foundation to make a social survey of the state. Dr. Hart agreed to undertake it on condition that it be part of the war program of the Council of Defense. In the field work he was assisted by Clarence L. Stonaker, secretary of the New Jersey State Charities Aid and Prison Association, with co-operation from J. S. Lakin of the West Virginia Board of Control. The report was published by the Executive State Council of Defense in August. It attracted wide attention because of its plain statement of conditions and its practical recommendations. A campaign that brought the facts before the people resulted in an appropriation of \$25,000 by the legislature for the reorganization of the entire child welfare program of the state and the establishment of a State Board of Children's Guardians.

Publication of the West Virginia program brought a request for a similar study in Florida, which was made in the fall of 1917, again with the collaboration of Mr. Stonaker. This report was of substantial assistance in obtaining large appropriations for the state hospital for the insane and the farm colony for feeble-minded and epileptics, and in bringing about improvements in probation work and in the state reform school for boys.

Next South Carolina requested a similar service. Dr. Hart's report was published in February, 1918. Reinforced by his recommendations, the State Board of Charities and Corrections succeeded in securing from the legislature a desirable change of auspices for the State Reformatory for Negro Boys. Appropriations for care of the feeble-minded and for a girls' reformatory were also made by the legislature, and the Salvation Army obtained funds to build a new rescue home for women and children.

In June, 1918, the Governor of Alabama asked for a survey of the social agencies of his state. As the armistice was signed before the report was finished, Dr. Hart put his emphasis on the basic social problems of the state. The incoming governor incorporated in his message to the legislature a striking paragraph that enumerated outstanding needs, and urged that the report be read and reread by every citizen. In accordance with its recommendations, the tax laws of the state were revised and new taxes were levied, with a view to providing adequate revenues for its social work; appropriations for maintenance of public institutions were greatly increased and liberal appropriations were made for new buildings; an institution for feeble-minded was established; a child welfare commission was created; and the annual appropriation for the State Department of Health was multiplied nearly sixfold.

In these state surveys and reports,¹ as in his studies of individual children's institutions,² Dr. Hart commended warmly everything he could find to commend, criticized defects and deficiencies with complete candor, suggested practical improvements that could be made easily and without delay, and held out goals toward which to work in the future. His one criterion in appraising laws, organization, buildings, budgets, personnel, or procedures, was their effect on the human beings whom they were intended to protect or train or cure or strengthen.

Besides Dr. Hart's services, the Department of Child-Helping contributed six months of the time of its associate director, C. Spencer Richardson. Mr. Richardson went to France in July, 1918, to join the staff of the Bureau of Refugees and Relief of the American Red Cross. He was appointed delegate of the Bureau for the Department of Hérault, and served in that capacity until the Bureau was disbanded on December 26, 1918. His war work, like Dr. Hart's, was not primarily in the field of child welfare. It was rather community organization: administration of general

¹ All four were published by the Foundation in 1917 or 1918 as pamphlets of the Department of Child-Helping. In size they ranged from 24 to 87 pages and aggregated 216 pages.

² See p. 108.

relief and provision for all the various needs of refugees, in co-operation with local authorities.

SOCIAL CASEWORK

Instead of turning Miss Richmond's thoughts into new directions, the war emphasized the importance of her basic preoccupation with the study of social casework and greatly increased her opportunities for promoting its understanding. Her "war service" consisted for the most part in carrying on through the war her usual kind of work. The charity organization societies needed her counsel and encouragement in meeting new demands and new conditions. Red Cross Home Service created an enormous "class" of students in urgent need of elementary instruction in the principles and methods of giving help to people who needed it.

As in other times of emergency, Miss Richmond considered it her first obligation to tell the charity organization societies of the country how she thought they could be most useful. This she did in general terms in her regular medium of communication, the confidential Charity Organization Bulletin, in the issue of March, 1917, before the declaration of a state of war with Germany had been made. Under the title "On the Verge" she said that the part the charity organization societies had to play was "to bring organized common sense to bear, at least, upon the social needs of their own communities, especially when social needs concern those least able to find a way out for themselves."

Three things, she said, were likely to happen that would affect their immediate task: more "planned help" than usual would be needed; more "unplanned help" than usual would be forthcoming; and "all cranks" would have ideas "as to what everybody else should do." At such a time it was part of the duty of a charity organization society "to keep its head." It "has its own work to do and it serves its country best when it does its work well. It must co-operate with other legitimate work, of course, and it must expand to meet the extra demands that will inevitably come, but it is not called upon to neglect its own work for the regulation of every kite-flyer in the charitable field." If war relief should become "an unhappy necessity at home" the right

place to turn for guidance was the American Red Cross, which had called W. Frank Persons of the New York Charity Organization Society to be director-general of Civilian Relief.

The next issue of the Bulletin, in May, was a "War Number," and throughout the war Miss Richmond used it to keep the charity organization societies informed of developments and advise them on their responsibilities and opportunities.

In June Mr. Persons asked Miss Richmond to prepare a manual on civilian relief to soldiers' and sailors' families for use in Red Cross chapters. This seemed to her "the opportunity of a lifetime to explain in the simplest possible language the essential principles and methods of social casework to a far larger audience than had ever heard of them before." The name "Home Service" was her suggestion. A simplified Home Service Manual for Red Cross Volunteers was issued¹ late in the summer by the American Red Cross in an edition of 100,000 copies. A second edition, revised and enlarged by Miss Richmond, was required in December. She collaborated on two shorter pamphlets for the Red Cross, one of which was intended for Home Service volunteers in rural areas, and wrote various articles on training for Home Service.

When institutes to train these volunteers were organized, Miss Richmond participated in the instruction, helped prepare outlines of study, and put the Department's teaching material at the disposal of their directors. She herself gave 18 lectures at institutes in different parts of the country. Special printings of annotated case histories and specially prepared memoranda explaining their use in the classroom were supplied to the teachers of the 25 institutes.

Miss Richmond helped to organize the National Alien Enemy Relief Committee when it was formed in June, 1918. She served on its executive committee from the beginning until the work ended in May, 1919. This committee assisted in arranging for relief and service to families innocently handicapped by war regulations. At the request of the State Department it acted as agent for German and Austro-Hungarian interests through the

¹ Not over Miss Richmond's signature.

legations of Switzerland and Sweden, guarding a situation which at any time might have become difficult to the Departments of State and of Justice.

Throughout the war Miss Richmond served on the consultation committee of the New York County Home Service Section of the American Red Cross, as a member of the Conference Board of the Women's Council of War Agencies, and as chairman of its Committee on Relief.

WOMEN'S WORK

In the summer of 1917 the Division of Industrial Studies was asked by Morris L. Cooke, chairman of the Storage Committee of the War Industries Board, to look into the possibilities of employing women to replace men in the government's warehouses. The questions to be answered were: in what departments women could work, how the work could be adjusted to their strength, what arrangement of stock and what mechanical devices would be desirable, and what standards of wages and hours should be set.

Warehouses of the Quartermaster Corps, the Ordnance Department, and the Medical Supply Corps were visited in seven cities. Information was obtained as to prevailing wages for women in these cities, and as to methods in use in private warehouses. In this part of the study co-operation was given by the Consumers League of Boston and of Philadelphia and the Women's Municipal League of New York. Miss van Kleeck submitted her report in November, 1917. The principal recommendation was that a bureau of women's work be created in the War Department "to deal with the problems relating to the employment of women in plants controlled by the Department, or in those working on war orders, and in other ways to safeguard the standards protecting women in industry." In this connection Mr. Cooke, chairman of the Storage Committee, asked Miss van Kleeck for a memorandum on standards for labor, for both men and women, for use by the War Department. These standards were accepted by the Chief of Ordnance and issued as General Order No. 13. The Trade Union News called this "the

most advanced order ever issued by a government in time of war."¹

A few weeks later Miss van Kleeck was asked by the Ordnance Department of the War Department to organize a Women's Branch in its Industrial Service Section. She went to Washington on January 6, 1918. Since the preceding summer Mr. Selekman of her staff had been with the War Camp Community Service, and other changes were occasioned by the war later, but the activities of the Division of Industrial Studies were not suspended. Work went forward under Mr. Harrison as acting director, and he kept in close touch with Miss van Kleeck.

The function of the Women's Branch in the Ordnance Department was to inspect arsenals and other government plants employing women, and to advise with officials and ordnance contractors as to methods of maintaining standards while accelerating production. Eleven district offices were opened. The Washington office was a clearinghouse for reports of the district agents and for information about industrial policies of government agencies, labor supply, plant management, and other matters with a bearing on its work.

After six months in the Ordnance Department, Miss van Kleeck was asked, in July, 1918, to become director of the newly created Woman in Industry Service in the Department of Labor. While in this position she served as a member of the War Labor Policies Board. At this time there was a great demand for women, not only in the production of war materials but also to fill the places of men who were leaving industry for military service. The object in establishing the new service was, in brief, to protect the health and welfare of the women workers of the country in this unprecedented situation.

Special attention was given to co-operation with state labor departments, to protection in hazardous occupations, and to limitations on night work. To provide a forum for the discussion of industrial safeguards, wages, hours, and allied questions, a

¹ With little change they were reissued in 1939 and were embodied in the President's message to Congress just after the outbreak of war in Europe in September, 1939.

council was formed, without administrative function, composed of women representing every division of the Department of Labor and other federal departments.

Standards that should govern employment of women were drafted and presented to the Secretary of Labor. They were adopted by the War Labor Policies Board on October 18, 1918, for insertion in government contracts. The signing of the armistice within a month prevented carrying out this plan, but on December 12 the standards, somewhat revised, were issued as a basis for a program of the Department of Labor.

After the armistice the Woman in Industry Service made recommendations as to policies affecting the employment of women in the period of readjustment, and made investigations in various industries to discover what was happening about wages. At the request of the Secretary of the Navy it reported on conditions in a number of Navy Yards. It co-operated with the Ordnance Department with regard to the employment of women in arsenals, and with the Committee on Reclassification on questions affecting government employes in Washington. It made studies of the economic and industrial problems of Negro women and of the labor conditions of women on street railways in five large cities. With help from the Foundation's Department of Surveys and Exhibits, a traveling exhibit illustrating the standards recommended was prepared, which was widely circulated.¹

By the end of the summer of 1919 the work of the Service was well established, and Miss van Kleeck returned to the Foundation. The Woman in Industry Service was continued under special appropriation until in June, 1920, it was established by statute on a permanent footing as the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

SAVINGS

The Division of Remedial Loans made its special contribution in connection with the National War Savings Committee. In October, 1917, Mr. Ham submitted a memorandum to the Committee calling attention to the need of extending the chance to

¹ See pp. 216-262.

buy Liberty Bonds and War Savings Certificates by small periodical payments as well as of supplementing the usual methods of publicity and selling by a more personal appeal. He outlined the work done by credit unions, showing their potentiality in the direction of group saving, and suggested a plan for linking up the work of the War Savings Committee with that of the credit unions in order to insure a permanent form of thrift association.

From December 13, 1917, to June 15, 1918, he acted as manager of the War Savings Society Bureau of the New York City Committee. By June 15 about 9,000 group-saving societies had been organized in churches, schools, industrial plants, and among social, professional, and racial groups in New York City, with approximately half a million members pledged to save systematically and to buy War Savings Stamps regularly. These societies were an important factor in the New York campaign for selling Liberty Bonds, and they laid the foundation for the effective work carried on later by the National War Savings Committee and other wartime agencies.

As in the case of other war organizations, the national war savings movement brought into existence a vast network of national, state, and local agencies unexampled in the history of the country for reaching people in all walks of life. In his work with the New York Bureau, Mr. Ham had the help of Mr. and Mrs. Routzahn.¹

The services of Miss Caro D. Coombs, secretary of the Division, were also given to the National War Savings Committee from December, 1917, until June, 1919. Miss Coombs organized war savings societies and spoke before many professional, religious, and social groups. She also made an investigation of war savings societies previously formed in New York, to furnish data on their scope and usefulness to the National War Savings Committee, and later assisted in the reorganization of these associations.

At the request of Treasury officials, Mr. Ham, with Pierre Jay of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and Mr. Routzahn, made a comprehensive survey of the national war savings movement. They prepared a program for 1919 and recommended that

¹ See p. 261.

a permanent organization be created to carry on the constructive and educational work begun by the war agency. Both parts of the report were approved by the Secretary of the Treasury. After the armistice the National War Savings Committee was reorganized as the Savings Division of the Treasury Department.

Mr. Ham spent a large part of his time on work for the War Savings Committee through the year 1918. In the latter part of the year this was a contribution from the Provident Loan Society, from which he had accepted an appointment as its second vice-president in June. He gave some attention to the Division of Remedial Loans through the summer, definitely severing his connection with the Foundation on October 15, 1918.

SURVEYS AND EXHIBITS

There was little demand for help on general social surveys during the war period, but Mr. Harrison was called upon for information and advice on many plans and projects, and served on several committees in charge of surveys of special aspects of wartime conditions. Among them were a study by the Drama League of America of the amount and character of entertainment available for the 40,000 soldiers and sailors constantly in New York City; plans by a joint Commission of the Federal Council of Churches and the Home Missions Council for surveys of conditions in war production centers; and plans, just reaching completion at the time of the armistice, for a survey to supply a basis for developing the educational work of the Young Men's Christian Associations among the soldiers in camp in the Department of the East. When Miss van Kleeck went to Washington in January, 1918, Mr. Harrison was appointed acting director of the Division of Industrial Studies.

The Department's experience in exhibits and other forms of graphic publicity was eagerly sought to help win the war. From the summer of 1917 to February, 1919, Mr. and Mrs. Routzahn were almost continuously on loan or on leave to one or another wartime agency, with Mr. Harrison co-operating to the extent that his other duties permitted.

Their first work was with the United States Food Administration, where they organized a Division of Exhibits in the Food Conservation Section. A 50-page pamphlet was prepared on Food Conservation Exhibits for Fairs and Expositions, as a guide for use throughout the country; and a Food Conservation Train of three cars was fitted with exhibits on how to save food and how to use "food-substitutes," for use by the Pennsylvania Food Administration and the Pennsylvania Railroad. On September 20, when a permanent director had been found for the Division of Exhibits, Mrs. Routzahn left the United States Food Administration, but assistance in educational campaigns for food conservation continued as a prominent part of the Department's work. Material was collected and inquiries were answered. Mrs. Routzahn participated in the annual conference of the State Relations Service of the Department of Agriculture in November, 1917; attended the Chicago Patriotic Food Show in January, 1918; wrote an article about it for the American Food Journal;¹ helped on the New York Patriotic Food Show in June, 1918.

For the Commission on Training Camp Activities Mr. and Mrs. Routzahn acted as consultants during the preparation of an exhibit on the work of the Commission and its affiliated organizations, which was shown by the War Department in 1918 in the principal cities of the United States.

From January, 1918, until September the greater part of both Mr. and Mrs. Routzahn's time was given to the War Savings Society Bureau in New York City, of which Mr. Ham was manager. They organized and supervised a speakers' bureau, prepared printed material and educational devices of various kinds, and participated in organizing war savings societies in the city. From October, 1918, to the middle of the following February Mr. Routzahn gave about half his time to the committee that was planning for a Savings Division in the federal Treasury Department.

Mrs. Routzahn on October 15, 1918, went to Washington on a leave of absence to organize the publicity and educational work

¹ Published in issue of February, 1918; reprinted by the Foundation as a 7-page pamphlet of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits in April, 1918.

of the new Woman in Industry Service in the Department of Labor, of which Miss van Kleeck was director. Besides making a general plan and writing and editing material for the press, she prepared a traveling exhibit on industrial standards for women. Several sets were made, so that it could be circulated simultaneously in a number of states. It was shown at the International Congress of Working Women, meeting in Washington, and gave delegates from abroad an idea of what they might do in their own countries.

Mrs. Routzahn returned to the Foundation from her leave of absence on February 15, 1919, but for two or three months more the Department contributed a large part of her time for the completion of work she had begun in Washington.

LIBRARY SERVICE

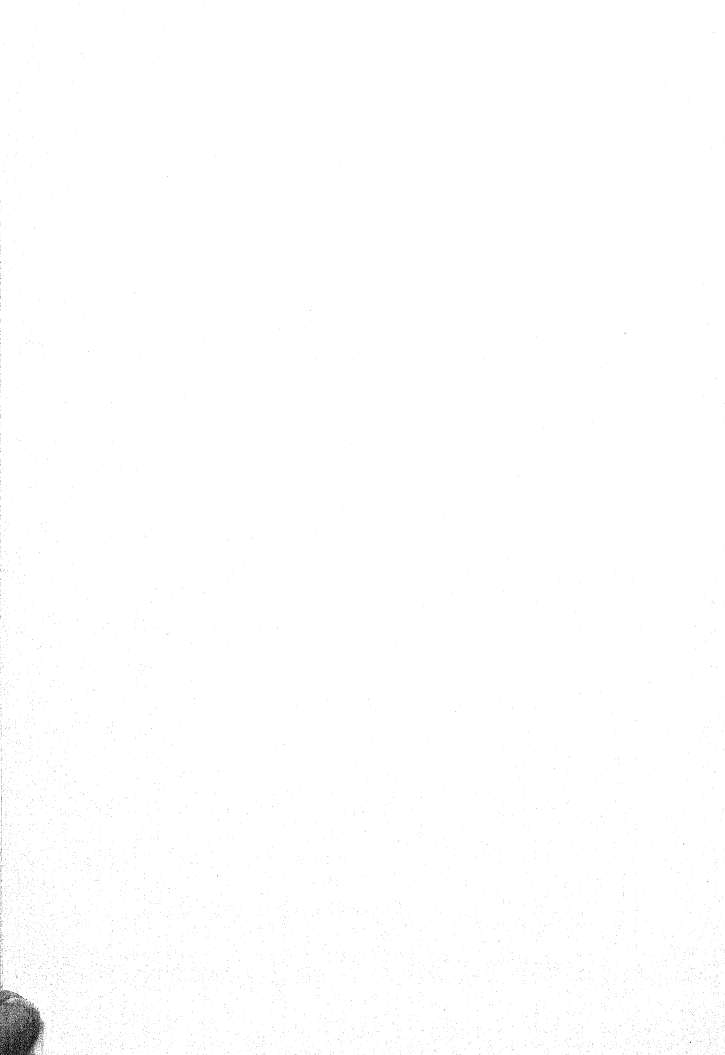
Frederick W. Jenkins, librarian of the Foundation, took an active part in the work done by the American Library Association in co-operation with the Commission on Training Camp Activities. In the summer of 1917 he served on a committee to raise funds for the purchase of books and magazines for the training centers. The following summer, on leave of absence from the Foundation, he spent in developing library facilities for the five or six thousand soldiers, sailors, and marines stationed at Pensacola, Florida.

Pensacola had no public library. Two small reading rooms, maintained by a library association, open to members only and for only a few hours daily, constituted the library facilities for the general population of the city of 30,000 inhabitants. When Mr. Jenkins arrived, early in June, 1918, the Young Men's Christian Associations had opened a reading room at the Naval Air Station, five miles out of the city, where about two-thirds of the service men of the area and the men of highest average education were stationed. Mr. Jenkins made this his headquarters but did not limit his attention to the aviators. By September, when he left, the reading room at the Air Station had been enlarged and was open at all hours when the men could use it; the number of books had been increased to 6,000, including many new technical and

scientific works, for which there was a growing demand; the average daily circulation had risen from 50 to 200; the daily number of readers had more than doubled; and a supervising librarian had been appointed. New and enlarged reading rooms had been opened also at Camp Barrancas and Camp Pickens.

Supplementing assistance given by the Young Men's Christian Associations, Mr. Jenkins enlisted the interest of Army and Navy officers and of the citizens of Pensacola. To attract a large proportion of the men he arranged for notes and news about the books to be thrown on motion picture screens and published in local papers. After the purchase of a thousand volumes, he held a "reception" for the new books. In every way he tried to make the library a vital part of the life of the station. When men anxious for promotion asked for instruction in elementary subjects, he conducted classes for them in Blue Jacket's Manual and in English.

On October 1, 1918, Mr. Jenkins went to Washington as supervisor of editorial and publication work for the War Industries Board and editor of Weekly Statistical News. He returned to the Foundation in January, 1919, after seven months' absence.



PART FOUR
EXPANSION



XX

GENERAL VIEW: 1917-1931

AFTER 1917 the Foundation's history does not conveniently divide into decades. Its second period ends more naturally in 1931 than in 1927. Mr. de Forest died in the spring of 1931 and Mr. Glenn retired as general director in the fall. By that time, furthermore, the great depression was affecting the work of the Foundation in various ways.

DEATH OF MRS. SAGE

Mrs. Sage died on November 4, 1918, not long after her ninetieth birthday and just a week before the armistice. Miss Cecilia Beaux was commissioned to paint the beautiful portrait of her that hangs in East Hall of the Foundation. The memorial minute, written by Mr. de Forest and adopted by the Trustees on November 22, read as follows:

At the close of the first meeting of the Russell Sage Foundation, Mrs. Sage said to a few of her friends: "I am nearly eighty years old and I feel as though I were just beginning to live." In a certain sense it is true that Mrs. Sage was then "just beginning to live"; for the will of her husband, who had left her virtually all his great fortune, enabled her to gratify in a very large way her lifelong desire to help others. This she did from that time on, up to the close of her long life, not impulsively, but with due regard to helping wisely and permanently; and this she is continuing to do after her death through the provisions of her will.

The Russell Sage Foundation, characteristically named by her after her husband, not after herself, was the greatest of her gifts and the broadest in its possibility of usefulness, both present and prospective. The letter, dated April 19, 1907, which accompanied her gift, and in which she indicated her desires and hopes with regard to the activities of the Foundation, disclosed the largeness of her point of view and her vision into the future. "The scope of the Foundation," she wrote, "is not only national but is broad. It should,

however, preferably not undertake to do that which is now being done or is likely to be effectively done by other individuals or by other agencies. Its aim should be to take up the larger and more difficult problems and to take them up so far as possible in such a manner as to secure co-operation and aid in their solution." While the Foundation was but one of her many philanthropic interests, it was undoubtedly her greatest, and she followed its work closely up to the time of her death. After physical weakness prevented her attending its meetings, she was always eager to hear of its progress and its plans for the future.

Mrs. Sage's most conspicuous and finest trait was her Christian faith, the root of all that was best in her character and in her life. Her interests and sympathies knew no narrow lines. Charity—which to her meant that love for her fellow-men conveyed by the word in its original sense—education, religion, science, public projects, which might well have been undertaken by nation, state, or city, were all embraced in her scheme of giving.

Her splendid gifts to universities and colleges throughout the country are more widely known than are some of her more personal interests: the planting of the rhododendrons in the east drive of Central Park, which thousands could enjoy; the restoring of the historic Governor's Room in the City Hall to its original condition of dignity and beauty; the establishing in Louisiana of a winter shelter for migratory birds; the gift to the nation of Constitution Island opposite West Point,—these fine things which could only have been conceived and carried out by one who had both means and large sympathies, gave Mrs. Sage keen pleasure. The well-being of the least and of the greatest interested her, from the countless birds whose lives she saved by buying Marsh Island, to the men and women whose living conditions she earnestly hoped might be improved through the work of the Foundation.

Although Mrs. Sage's benefactions were so widespread, she nevertheless delighted to recognize her obligations to her original home and the places with which she had been associated. It was for this reason that she gave so generously to Syracuse, where she was born; to Troy, where during her early life she taught in the Emma Willard School; to Sag Harbor, and to New York, which became

her home after her marriage and where she died. This consideration influenced many of the gifts made by her during her lifetime, as well as those provided for in her will.

Of the original trustees whom she selected for the Foundation . . . a number were old friends. Those who were not entered soon into that relationship. To them she showed her affectionate and trusting side, the side of which the public knew too little.

It was characteristic of Mrs. Sage that having established the Foundation and turned over its management to trustees of her choice, she never sought to direct their action, except in a single instance, and that was in urging that a permanent home be built for the Foundation. In this case she proved her wisdom and foresight.

Her spirit will always be an inspiration to those to whom she has entrusted her largest philanthropic purpose. They and their successors will seek to carry out her intentions according to the changing social and industrial conditions which the future must bring. Thus the life which with the establishment of the Foundation Mrs. Sage felt she had just begun to live, will be continued.

By her will Mrs. Sage bequeathed to the Foundation seven-fifty-seconds of her residuary estate. This added \$5,000,000 to her original gift, increasing the endowment to \$15,000,000.

To the trusts for the Sage Institute of Pathology and the Susana Hospital in Guam, accepted by the Foundation in the summer of 1907, two others were added near the end of Mrs. Sage's life. In December, 1917, she conveyed to the Foundation a park and playground which she had maintained at Sag Harbor, Long Island, together with \$125,000 of bonds as a permanent endowment. At her request and expense this park had been planned and equipped by the Foundation's Department of Recreation and was still under its supervision. She also asked the Trustees of the Foundation to continue to be responsible for the conduct of the park. This trust was terminated in 1920, in accordance with instructions Mrs. Sage had given, by a transfer of the property and endowment fund by the Foundation to a recently incorporated association of citizens of Sag Harbor, with

a proviso in the deed that if the property "shall cease to be used as a park or playground for the Village of Sag Harbor" it and the endowment fund shall revert to the Foundation.

The second of these later trusts had to do with the bird refuge Mrs. Sage had established on Marsh Island in Louisiana, containing over 75,000 acres. Title to most of the Island was transferred by her to the Foundation in 1916 and the rest of her holding by her executors in 1920. Meanwhile, the Trustees had decided that it was advisable, as the best way of carrying out Mrs. Sage's wishes for the refuge, to give it to the state of Louisiana.¹ In November, 1920, therefore, the property was transferred by the Foundation to the state by a deed which contained covenants relating to the care and proper conduct of the refuge and a proviso that if at any time the state should fail to comply with those covenants the title should revert to the Foundation.

OTHER CHANGES IN GOVERNING BODY AND OFFICERS

After the death of Mrs. Sage the next change among the Trustees was caused by the resignation of Mr. Dodge in 1920. Early in 1921 Mr. White was drowned in a tragic accident. Mrs. Rice and Miss Schuyler died full of years in 1926, within a few months of each other, after long periods of incapacitating illness. Mr. de Forest, in spite of physical weakness, continued to take an active interest in the work of the Foundation and to attend meetings until within a few weeks of his death on May 6, 1931, at the age of eighty-three. His death left only two of the incorporators of the Foundation on the Board of Trustees: Mr. Glenn and Mrs. Shepard.

To fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mrs. Sage, Charles D. Norton was elected in November, 1918. He died in March, 1923, at the age of fifty-two, after less than five years of service. The other additions to the Board during this period were Frederic A. Delano and Dwight W. Morrow, in February, 1921; Lawson Purdy, in June, 1923; Mrs. Frederic S. Lee and Harold

¹ Before the transfer was effected certain obligations fell due—death taxes and warden's fees—which the executors had no authority to discharge. These bills were paid by the Foundation, on the ground of its relation to Mrs. Sage and her memory, and its possible reversionary interest in the property.

T. White (nephew of Alfred T. White), in November, 1926; and Johnston de Forest, in May, 1931, at the first meeting after his father's death.

When Mrs. Sage died Mr. de Forest, who as vice-president had from the beginning carried most of the responsibilities of the office, succeeded her as president. Mrs. Rice was elected vice-president. On her death in 1926 she was followed by Mr. Purdy. Mr. Dodge resigned as treasurer in December, 1917, three years before withdrawing from the Board. Henry L. de Forest¹ was appointed to the office temporarily. When Charles D. Norton came on the Board in November, 1918, he was appointed treasurer. On Mr. Norton's death in 1923 Mr. Purdy, who succeeded him as trustee, succeeded him also as treasurer.

Mr. Glenn presented his resignation as general director at the meeting following Mr. de Forest's death. He continued as trustee and as secretary of the Board. Mr. Glenn's resignation was accepted as of September 1, 1931, and Shelby M. Harrison was appointed to succeed him on that date. Mr. Harrison had been director of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits since it was established in 1912 and vice-general director of the Foundation since 1924.

INCOME

For the Foundation, as for the United States as a whole, though largely from different causes, the greater part of this period was characterized by financial prosperity and consequent expansion of activities. In the fourteen years the Foundation's income ranged from the lowest point in its history to the highest. The increase came about almost wholly from circumstances independent of general economic conditions in the country. In the first two years of the period income remained near the low point of the fiscal year 1917. A few years later, in 1922-1923, it was two and a half times that amount. This increase came about partly through additions to endowment on account of Mrs. Sage's bequest; partly through reinvestment in income-producing

¹ The treasurer, like the secretary and the general director, were—and are—appointed by the Trustees. They need not be members of the Board.

investments of the large fraction of the original endowment that had been tied up in the development of Forest Hills Gardens.

The first and major distribution of Mrs. Sage's residuary estate was made on May 20, 1920. Substantial sums were received also in February, 1922, and June, 1923. Smaller amounts were scattered over the following years until the final distribution was made in April, 1929. The total amount received was \$5,712,854.72, of which \$5,000,000 was considered an addition to principal and the rest as interest from the date of Mrs. Sage's death to the dates of payment of the several installments.

The legacy, as well as the original gift, is subject to the provisions of the charter that limit expenditures to income and to objects for improving social and living conditions in the United States of America. It is not subject to the same restrictions as to investment. In December, 1923, the Trustees adopted a resolution reaffirming their obligation to keep the principal of the original endowment invested in securities of the kinds designated by Mrs. Sage in her letter of gift, and providing that the principal of all sums received under the legacy should be kept in a separate fund and invested and reinvested "in such securities as prudent men of discretion and intelligence employ in investing their own money."

The other important factor contributing to increase of income was the sale, in February, 1922, of the Foundation's interest in the Sage Foundation Homes Company to John M. Demarest¹ and some of his friends, most of whom were residents or owners of lots in Forest Hills Gardens. In announcing this transaction to the Trustees Mr. de Forest said that the Foundation had carried the enterprise "to substantial completion" and had accomplished every purpose it had in view "save only the hope of making it successful from a mere business point of view, that is, financial profit. This had been largely prevented by reason of the war and the postwar period."²

¹ Vice-president of the Company, and manager of the property.

² The expectation of "an annual income of not less than three per cent," which Mrs. Sage had stipulated as a condition for such investment of the endowment, was not realized, and the amount received from the sale represented a capital loss of about \$350,000. This was restored to the principal out of income received under the legacy.

Nearly four hundred houses had been built or were under construction, besides the Inn and its apartment annex in Station Square. Only a small proportion of the property remained unsold. From the outset it had been the intention to turn over the supervision of the suburb and the continuance of its characteristic features to the residents and lot-owners. The time had clearly come, said Mr. de Forest, when it was expedient to do this.¹ Mr. Demarest and his associates could be trusted to maintain the character of the place. The demonstration had attracted much attention in the real-estate field and had had widespread influence on plans for other suburban developments throughout the country.

Effects of the first distribution on account of the legacy showed promptly in income, which for the year ending September 30, 1920, was higher than it had been in any year since 1908-1909. In 1922-1923, when two more distributions had been made and the capital that had been used for Forest Hills Gardens was again producing current revenue, it reached \$655,000, in comparison with \$260,000 in 1916-1917. After that the general trend was upward to the peak point of \$737,000 in 1928-1929, the year of financial peaks. The depression did not conspicuously affect the Foundation's income until 1932-1933.

At the beginning of this second period of the Foundation's history the purchasing power of the dollar was still falling. The inflation that had been conspicuously in progress since 1914 continued more rapidly after 1917 until it was checked by the depression of 1920-1921. Thereafter, until 1930, the "real" value of money, measured by what it would buy, remained fairly steady, at a lower level than before the war. This period of stabilization coincided, as it happened, with the Foundation's period of highest "dollar" income. Standards of compensation, however, for all kinds of service employed by the Foundation—professional, clerical, and building-maintenance—continued to rise. In terms of what the Foundation could do, therefore, the increase in its income was considerably less than appeared on the surface.

¹ Toward the end of 1930 the Foundation found it advisable to take back title to Forest Hills Inn.

RE-EXAMINATION OF PROGRAM AND METHODS

After the war there was general reconsideration of plans within the departments individually, and in December, 1919, the conference of department directors asked a committee to make recommendations on the future program of the Foundation as a whole. The committee consisted of Miss Richmond, chairman, Mr. Glenn, Mr. Hanmer, and Mr. Harrison. Its report was submitted under date of February 5, 1920.

A review of the proposals made to the Trustees in 1907 by their advisers had impressed the committee with the "marked changes in point of view since that time," particularly "our better realization now of what it costs in time, money, and detailed conquest of public inertia to achieve even the simpler and more obvious improvements in social conditions."

The method of work that had "developed with time into the more or less clearly recognized procedure" of the Foundation was formulated as follows: "the policy of discovering standards and of effecting needed stimulation by *studying with each group* (and as one of the group usually) its special problems." This was "to emphasize the permanent and creative values in group thinking, to appeal to reason through fact studies and their interpretation, to make accessible the data around which public opinion can form." Convinced of the soundness of this method, the committee urged "avoidance of the type of propaganda which operates by suggestion rather than by reason and interpretation." It did not wish, however, to be understood by this as counseling "easy avoidance of controversial subjects." On the contrary, "it is the duty of a foundation to bear truthful witness to the facts as it sees them, and to the needs of its time as fact reveals them, though, in so doing, it should strive always to demonstrate a spirit of quiet, thorough, and fair-minded inquiry."

In the judgment of the committee, the departmental organization of the Foundation, while it "should be revised frequently in its details," presented in its main features "marked advantages over any other system yet adopted by similar bodies." The Library, the editorial staff, the Department of Statistics, and the

detailed supervision given all the work by the general director, served to unify and standardize the entire output. In addition, there had developed "an interchange of criticism and service between department and department," which had "already had a marked influence upon the Foundation's publications, upon its teaching, and upon its field service," and which, now that the war was over and the departments were resuming their accustomed tasks, was "destined to have an increasingly strong influence."

Considering the content of the future program of the Foundation, the committee decided that the greatest need in the field of social work at the time was better knowledge of methods of attaining ends accepted as desirable. It believed that "a large part of the Foundation's energy might well be devoted, during the next decade, to helping the leading groups interested in one or another form of social advance to discover, step by step, the 'means whereby,' and then make these means better known." There was also "still a separate place" for studies of conditions, "in which the Foundation was a pioneer."

Among several recommendations for new expenditures were a pension plan for employees of the Foundation; a fund for occasional lectures and one for conferences on special subjects; and a permanent exhibit of the work of the Foundation, including lantern slides. "Tasks seriously considered," but submitted without recommendation, included a study of probation work, an educational campaign looking to better provision for the feeble-minded, a study of prison methods and research in criminology, a statistical study of "certain current economic problems," and "a thrift campaign of education."

Tentative proposals relating to grants covered (1) concentration on tasks for which the Foundation was especially equipped; (2) review at stated intervals of results achieved by grants; (3) an outside limit of five years for any new grant, or for the further continuance of any made in the past; that "piece-work tasks," with a definite time limit, be the basis for new grants.

Re-examination of projects and methods was characteristic of the twenties throughout, and frequent group discussions were

held. One of the perennial questions, never satisfactorily answered, was how to keep time free for research as requests for committee service, addresses, and consultation increased.

Staff discussions on research in directors' meetings in the winter of 1924-1925 raised questions as to the place of research in the Foundation's program, methods of conducting it, differences in methods of research in social science and in the natural sciences, and particularly the relation of investigation to the giving of counsel by the staff of the Foundation. Following these discussions Professor Robert M. MacIver, then on the faculty of the University of Toronto, was invited to spend a week in studying the Foundation, observing methods of research in the departments, conferring with the directors individually, and conducting discussions with the group. It was a week of concentrated consideration of the function and the methods of social research, with special reference to the Foundation's program. Later he submitted a report giving his conclusions.

Two years later, in March, 1927, at the suggestion of several persons whose primary allegiance was to social work, the Foundation held a small conference to consider how research could be made more useful to organized social work, and more effective in improving living conditions. A wide range of questions was discussed. Among them were the relative value of social research conducted by universities and by social agencies; why social workers did not propose more subjects for research and how their interest might be stimulated; the difficulties in studying the processes of social work; the need for co-ordination of research projects; the relation of social workers to the Social Science Research Council and to the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences; how "some general planning of the whole field of investigation connected with social work" could be brought about. Porter R. Lee and Miss van Kleeck were asked to consider next steps. After consultation with others specially interested, they suggested informal conferences to consider specific projects of research rather than additional meetings of the group as a whole.

Several urgent requests for help to foreign countries were received early in this period. They were made by Americans or

American organizations. Although the Foundation's charter limited its expenditures to the United States, such requests were sympathetically considered, advice was given on plans, and suggestions were made as to possible sources of more material assistance. Among them were requests that the Foundation send small commissions of social workers to China and Japan and to Mexico, to stimulate activities for improving social and economic conditions in those countries. Another proposed the establishment of a department in the Foundation to develop friendly and helpful relations with Latin-American social workers. Such requests could not be granted, but throughout the period there was increasing contact, through individual members of the staff, with the social workers of other lands, especially of Great Britain and the countries of continental Europe.

DEPARTMENTS AND GRANTS

There were no changes in policies or basic methods of work, but in the fourteen years a number of changes took place in the personnel of the Foundation's staff and in the particular matters that engaged their attention.

At the beginning of the period a large part of the staff was engrossed in work connected with the war, at home or abroad. In some cases the interruption of normal activities lasted until the fall of 1919. There followed several years of readjustments in program and personnel. Some of the changes grew out of war-time experiences and associations, others had no direct connection with them. Three of the original departments (Southern Highlands, Education, and Child-Helping) were discontinued, for different reasons, before 1925. A fourth (Remedial Loans) was comparatively inactive for several years. Some of the others turned in new directions or added new interests. In the middle of the period a new department (Delinquency and Penology) was created, and another (Social Legislation, developed from the Department of Child-Helping) ran its brief course and passed out of existence. Before the close another new department had been established, to have charge of the Social Work Year Book.

Salaries were raised from time to time in recognition of accumulated experience, to equalize compensation in positions of similar responsibility, to keep pace with rising standards of pay in other institutions for research and education. During the years of rising cost of living before 1921 wages of the building employes were raised and in addition temporary allowances were paid to them and to members of the staff whose salaries did not exceed \$4,000. A system of retirement allowances was adopted at the end of 1924 by participation in Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America, established in 1917 by Carnegie Corporation.

Grants were continued to nine agencies that had received regular help before the war. In some cases they were increased. When prospects of larger income appeared, grants were made to sundry agencies not previously on the list, most of them newly organized. A number of these were renewed annually throughout the period. In 1921 preparation of the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs was begun—the Foundation's chief new undertaking, which corresponded in a way to the creation of Forest Hills Gardens in the previous period. For the next ten years this was its largest single object of expenditure and engaged a substantial part of the time of several members of its staff. As requirements of the Committee on Regional Plan and of several other new agencies for which the Foundation felt some degree of responsibility continued longer or increased more than had been anticipated, there was little margin of income available for new projects, whether through grants or as direct work. In this respect the pattern of the second period resembled that of the first decade when expansion was limited after the opening years by the need of capital for the development of Forest Hills Gardens.

Fewer books were published in these fourteen years than in the first ten; 37 as compared with 47. All but two of the 37 were products of the Foundation's departmental work, whereas 30 of the first 47 published had been written by outsiders. As in the first decade, some books made possible by the Foundation, through contributions of time or money or both, were not pub-

lished under its imprint. Chief of these were the ten volumes of the Regional Survey and the two setting forth the Regional Plan, which were issued between 1927 and 1931 by the Committee on Regional Plan.

ADDITIONS TO THE BUILDING

In the early twenties the decorative panels on the outer walls of the building, previously described,¹ were completed. To provide a well-lighted drafting room and convenient offices for the Committee on Regional Plan a tenth story was added to the building in 1922-1923. The new space was ready late in the summer of 1923 and was occupied by the Committee until 1932.

Late in 1928 an opportunity to buy a plot of ground adjoining the Foundation building on the west, on which there were three small residences, was presented to the Foundation. This was part of a larger plot 60 feet wide which ran through from Twenty-second to Twenty-first Street. The owner of the Gramercy Park Hotel, who wished to build an addition to the Hotel, proposed that he should buy the whole property and sell the north half of it, which fronted on Twenty-second Street, to the Foundation, with the proviso that no building higher than 60 feet should be erected on a portion of the larger plot 20 feet wide adjoining the Hotel and the Foundation building. This proposal was accepted by the Trustees of the Foundation. It insured light and air for the rear of both the original building and any building that might be erected later on newly acquired land. It was thought also that enlargement of the property held by the Foundation would increase the value of both lots and that the additional land could be put to good use in accord with the aims of the Foundation.

Early in 1929, before the great depression was in sight, the Trustees decided to build on this plot a fifteen-story wing to the Foundation's building. Grosvenor Atterbury again was the architect. The exterior of the annex and the ground floor were designed to harmonize with the original building, with which it was connected by a corridor at street level.

See p. 52.

A primary consideration in designing this addition was to provide suitable accommodations for the New York School of Social Work, which long since had outgrown all the space it could rent in the United Charities and Kennedy Buildings. The first six floors were assigned to the School and were laid out to meet its requirements. Five floors at the top were taken by the Welfare Council. The other floors were divided into single offices and suites adapted to the needs of smaller organizations. In June, 1931, tenants began to move into the offices.

The "West Wing," as it was called, was a business enterprise, an investment of capital. It was expected to yield a return comparable to the return received from investments in stocks and bonds and other holdings of real estate. None of the space was used by the Foundation for its own activities. The tenants were not in the position of guests in the Foundation's home, as were those in the original building. They paid rent, set at a uniform rate per square foot, corresponding to rentals charged in other office buildings of similar grade and offering comparable services. Most of the original tenants, however, received grants to offset rent. In some cases this was in addition to grants for other purposes. By this system both they and the Foundation had a record of the value of the contribution made by the latter.

END OF THE PERIOD

By September, 1931, the work of the Committee on Regional Plan was approaching completion and the Regional Plan Association had been organized to promote adoption of its recommendations; the new West Wing had more than doubled the size of the building; income, after running at a high level for ten years, was beginning to show the effects of the great depression; and problems arising out of the depression were beginning to affect the program of several departments. The death of Mr. de Forest in the spring of the year and the retirement of Mr. Glenn from executive responsibility brought changes in the offices of president and general director.

XXI

END OF THREE DEPARTMENTS

SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS, EDUCATION, CHILD-HELPING

WITHIN a few years after the close of the war three of the early departments of the Foundation were discontinued: the Division of Southern Highlands and the Department of Education because of the loss of their directors, by death and by resignation respectively; the Department of Child-Helping because of Dr. Hart's desire to devote himself to another field of work within the scope of the Foundation. A new department, established to continue the legislative studies of the Department of Child-Helping and develop them to include social legislation in general, ran its course within a year, coming to an end because its director was called to another position.

SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

John C. Campbell died suddenly on May 2, 1919. With his death the Southern Highland Division, as a distinct part of the Foundation's organization, came to an end. Mrs. Campbell agreed with Mr. Glenn that it was not advisable to continue the Division. "Mr. Campbell's success," wrote Mr. Glenn to one who expressed the hope that it would be carried on, "was due, to an unusual degree, to his personality. He succeeded in bringing mountain workers of various kinds together and to a better understanding and appreciation of each other's efforts. It would seem that they ought now to be able to co-operate and develop public interest in the mountains."

For a long time there had been pressure on Mr. Campbell from many directions to put his knowledge of the mountain region and its people into a book. He had been reluctant to do so, fearing it might be regarded by some as a violation of confidence and

realizing the difficulty of so guarding his statements as to avoid misunderstandings. During the last year of his life, however, he had gone through the mass of material accumulated in his twenty-five years of observation and study—first as teacher and school administrator and then in his work for Russell Sage Foundation. When he died he had his book well outlined and had written parts of it. It was completed by Mrs. Campbell and published¹ less than two years after his death. A second printing was required within three months. Mrs. Campbell also compiled from the material in the division files a directory of mountain schools.²

The Foundation continued to help the Southern Mountain Workers' Conference financially and later contributed to the cost of printing *Mountain Life and Work*, published by Berea College. In 1924-1925 it enabled Mrs. Campbell to spend a year exploring possibilities for establishing a school in the mountains modeled after the Danish folk school, which she and Mr. Campbell for many years had considered suggestive for the needs of the southern mountaineers. The outcome was the John C. Campbell Folk School at Brasstown, North Carolina, opened in January, 1926, which is a living memorial to the ideals of Mr. Campbell. The Foundation took no responsibility for the support of the school but has followed its development with sympathetic interest. An exhibit and sale of the beautiful carving and weaving done at the school was held in the Foundation building each year through 1945 two or three weeks before Christmas.

Allen Eaton's notable contributions to the southern mountaineers in connection with their arts and crafts were made as a member of the Foundation's Department of Surveys and Exhibits. Beginning in 1926 with participation in the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers, on Mrs. Campbell's invitation, they included assistance in organizing the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild (1929), supervising the first comprehensive exhibit of the handicrafts of the region (1930), systematic study

¹ *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, by John C. Campbell, 1921.

² *Southern Highland Schools Maintained by Denominational and Independent Agencies*, compiled by Olive D. Campbell, 1921. A revised edition was issued in 1929.

END OF THREE DEPARTMENTS

and collection of material, and his book (1937) that made his accumulated knowledge and understanding public property.

EDUCATION

Back at the Foundation in October, 1919, from his service in the War Department, Mr. Ayres reconstituted the staff of the Division of Education and resumed investigations. In January, 1920, the Division was designated a "Department." Before the end of 1920 Mr. Ayres resigned and a few months later the Department was discontinued.

Mr. Lutz and Mr. Richardson did not return with Mr. Ayres, but he brought in as assistant director W. Randolph Burgess, who (with the rank of major) had been his assistant in the Statistics Branch of the General Staff and acting chief of the Branch when he was absent. Mrs. May Ayres Burgess, sister of Mr. Ayres and wife of Mr. Burgess, rejoined the staff as special investigator.

In the thirty months of suspended activity correspondence and requests for special assistance naturally had dwindled, leaving the Division freer to concentrate on research than it had been for several years before the war. Invitations to conduct school surveys soon began to come—eight before the year was over—but none of them was accepted. Mr. Ayres predicted that henceforth it would be "extremely difficult" for cities and states to find competent men willing to undertake such surveys, because techniques and knowledge of problems had now been so far developed that there was no longer the prospect of original discoveries to compensate them for the high-pressure effort under trying conditions.

Three major studies were completed in the brief postwar period of the Department's existence. Two had been projected before the war but had not gone beyond the stage of exploration: an index number to express the comparative efficiency of state school systems, and a scale for measuring proficiency in silent reading. The third subject—a study of trends in school costs and a forecast of requirements in the following years—was chosen because of the pressing financial difficulties under which public schools were operating at the time.

Several other studies of school problems were considered but were found to be impracticable at the time. "Age-and-progress" records were obtained from most of the cities that took part in the 1911 study, with a view to finding out what advances had been made in the nine years. Returns were tabulated but analysis and interpretation were left unfinished when the Department came to an end.

Through a series of articles in the *Journal of Educational Research* Mr. Ayres made available to school administrators and others simplified methods devised during the war. In 1920 he gave two courses on educational statistics, running through six weeks, in the summer session of the University of Chicago.

For the index number for state school systems, methods were used similar to those developed by the federal government for computing index numbers of prices and cost of living. It was constructed from data published in the biennial reports of the United States Bureau of Education: annual figures on ten points for each state for the past fifty years. The report¹ presented index numbers on each point and for the ten combined, for the United States in each year since 1871, and for each state in five separate years scattered between 1890 and 1918. It included tables that showed at a glance the rank of each state on each point in each year.

This report, published early in 1920, carried further the monograph of 1912. Like its forerunner, it aroused lively interest. Practical consequences in a number of states were attributed to it. Mr. Ayres contemplated bringing the series up to date every two years as each report of the Bureau of Education was issued. Twenty-five years later the Foundation still received an occasional letter asking "How does our state rank now?"

Next of the three studies to reach the stage of publication was the one on financial requirements of public schools, which was in charge of Mr. Burgess. Construction of school buildings had been practically suspended for several years. Cost of buildings, equipment, and maintenance had greatly increased. While cost of living and wages of laborers and artisans had doubled since 1915,

¹ An Index Number for State School Systems, by Leonard P. Ayres, 1920.

END OF THREE DEPARTMENTS

teachers' salaries had lagged far behind, with the result that the problem of finding and keeping good teachers was acute. An authoritative reference book on school costs was much needed. Parts of the study, or by-products from it, were given to the public in addresses and magazine articles as soon as they were ready. The report¹ was published in September, 1920.

It included index numbers for salaries of teachers (men and women, in city and in country) since 1841, compared with cost of living and wages; trends in cost of building since 1840, with special data for 1913-1920; total annual expenditure for public education in the United States since 1870; forecasts of school costs in 1920 and later. The conclusion reached was that no large recessions in prices or wages could be expected in the near future; that school budgets would have to be twice as large in 1920 as in 1915 to provide the same amount and quality of educational service. Increased taxes on real estate were considered the most promising source of revenue to meet the increased costs.

In both these reports the methods employed in computing the index numbers were explained, so that anyone who wished might carry forward any of the series from year to year as soon as the basic data, contained in official documents, were published.

An ingenious scale for measuring ability in silent reading was devised by Mrs. Burgess. It was a series of 20 simple pictures, each accompanied by a paragraph telling the child to make certain marks on the pictures. The child had to read the paragraph through to the end, and understand it, before he could make the pencil mark asked for. His score was determined by the number of pictures correctly marked in five minutes. This was a test the children enjoyed, and it was easy for the teachers. It could be given to an entire class in five minutes and the papers could be scored in a few minutes more.

Four interchangeable scales of equal difficulty were issued, standardized for use in grades three to eight, and a monograph² was published, explaining in detail the construction of the scale

¹ Trends of School Costs, by W. Randolph Burgess.

² Measurement of Silent Reading, by May Ayres Burgess, 1921.

and discussing the principles involved. Nearly four million copies of the four reading scales have been sold.¹

For several years before the war Mr. Ayres had been receiving invitations, increasing in number and attractiveness as his work became more widely known, to accept teaching or administrative positions in universities. After the war he was sought not only for positions in the educational field but also to take charge of statistical work in other fields. In the fall of 1920 he accepted appointment as vice-president of the Cleveland Trust Company, in charge of its statistics and editor of its monthly review. His resignation from the Foundation took effect on November 30.

About the same time his associate, Mr. Burgess, resigned to take a position with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Mrs. Burgess stayed on until the spring of 1921 to see her monograph through the press and to attend to matters incidental to closing the office.

Discontinuance of this department of the Foundation was deplored by educators accustomed to looking to it for help and stimulation. It seemed doubtful, however, whether such studies as would now be needed were clearly within the province of the Foundation, as the initial investigation had been. In 1921 the educational profession was far better equipped to carry on its own research than it had been ten or twelve years earlier—partly as a result of the pioneer work done by Mr. Ayres and his associates.

CHILD-HELPING

While Dr. Hart was busy with his state programs and other wartime activities, his associates in the Department of Child-Helping continued to carry on work strictly in the Department's field.

¹ This figure is not comparable with figures for distribution of the handwriting scales (about 688,000) and the spelling scale (about 459,000). The handwriting and spelling scales are used by teachers or examiners. One copy serves for testing a group of any size, and can be used for different groups and from year to year. Each copy of the reading scales, by contrast, is "consumed" in one test of one pupil. Two of the reading scales were out of print by 1944 and the other two will probably not be reprinted when the stock on hand is exhausted. The spelling scale and the handwriting scale ("Gettysburg edition") are still in use and kept in print.

END OF THREE DEPARTMENTS

Mr. Richardson early in 1918 finished his study for the Children's Bureau of Delaware,¹ which within a year resulted in the strengthening of the Bureau, improvements in various institutions, appointment of a Children's Code Commission, and establishment of a State Board of Charities. He served as secretary of the Bureau for Exchange of Information among child welfare agencies until he went to France in July, when the work was transferred to the auspices of the State Charities Aid Association.

Mr. Slingerland was lent to Mooseheart in the fall of 1917 for a period of six months, to organize a department of casework.² Soon after his return he began a survey of child welfare work in Oregon for the Child Welfare Commission of the state. The Commission published his report³ in the fall of 1918, commending it to "the earnest consideration" of the State Board of Control, the legislature, and the people of Oregon. In December the Foundation published his textbook on *Child-Placing in Families*, based on the Department's studies over ten years.⁴

In the fall of 1918 the Community Council, the Welfare League, the Board of Trade, and other organizations of Louisville, Kentucky, joined in a request that the Department study the city's provisions for the welfare of its children. Mr. Slingerland spent three months in Louisville, gathering information. His 152-page report, published by the Welfare League in April, 1919, contained many concrete recommendations. After this he made two more comprehensive state surveys: in Colorado for the extension division of the state university and the social workers and organizations of the state; and in Idaho for the Children's Home-Finding and Aid Society of the state. Both reports were published in 1920 by the agencies that sponsored the studies.

On Mr. Richardson's return from France in February, 1919, he began a study of child welfare work in the District of Colum-

¹ *Dependent, Delinquent, and Defective Children of Delaware*, by C. Spencer Richardson, 1918.

² Before the end of the six months, Mooseheart urged him to stay in a permanent position, offering him a substantial advance over his Foundation salary.

³ "Made what it is," they said, "by his enlightened and constructive vision." *Child Welfare Work in Oregon*, by W. H. Slingerland. Extension Division, University of Oregon, Salem, 1918.

⁴ See p. 103.

bia, which had been requested by the Monday Evening Club of Washington. Mr. Richardson died suddenly, still a young man, before a report could be issued. In 1922 the field was re-examined, and a volume taking into account all the studies was then written by Dr. Hart.¹ This was the last of the Department's descriptive and evaluative surveys of provisions for children in individual states and cities. The series of published reports covered the states of Pennsylvania, California, Delaware, Oregon, Colorado, and Idaho, and the cities of New Orleans, Louisville, and Washington.

Consultation with individuals on building plans, administration, policies, and legislation was regarded by Dr. Hart as the most useful part of the Department's work. Calls for advice did not diminish during the war and the years following, but rather increased both in number and in importance, as a natural consequence of widening acquaintance. While most of them were connected with child welfare they ranged over a much wider territory: "We are inevitably drawn into matters of public policy relating to the broad field of social work,"² said Dr. Hart in one of his reports.

In June, 1920, Dr. Hart listed 33 pending "building propositions," in 14 states and the Canadian province of Saskatchewan, involving an aggregate expenditure of \$12,000,000, on which the Department had been consulted. There were regular "clients" (such as Mooseheart and the new Children's Bureau of Minnesota) who wrote for advice or information at frequent intervals. Others were heard from occasionally, reporting progress in carrying out earlier suggestions and asking comments on future plans. Some requests could be answered in a single letter or conversation. Others led to an extended correspondence or repeated visits. The trustees of the Maryland School for Boys besought Dr. Hart to appear at a hearing on a bill transferring the institution to the state and credited his fifteen-minute speech with

¹ Child Welfare in the District of Columbia. 1924.

² In 1921, for example, Dr. Hart "by request" wrote a paper for the National Conference of Social Work on "How to Give Wisely \$25,000 to \$1,000,000," which was "intended as a handbook for donors who desire to direct their gifts in the best possible manner." It was published as a pamphlet of the Department of Child-Helping as well as in the Proceedings of the Conference. In 1924 he was consulted on plans for the newly created William Buchanan Foundation of Texarkana, Texas.

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bringing about the passage of the bill. Another important institution, in another state, the Berkshire Industrial Farm, asked for help in effecting a thorough rehabilitation. In response to this request Mr. Richardson had spent several weeks making a comprehensive study of the institution and mapping a plan for reorganization in every aspect. There were requests for more state and city surveys of child welfare work than could be undertaken.

The state programs of 1917 and 1918, which were an outcome of the war, were followed by a train of correspondence, much of it very gratifying. In the winter following the armistice Dr. Hart made a similar survey in Mississippi, at the request of the Governor and leading private institutions. His report and recommendations were helpful to the Governor, who, said Dr. Hart, was making "strenuous efforts to improve conditions." In 1922 the Governor of Alabama asked him to come back for a second visit, to see how far the recommendations of 1918 had been carried out. He found that "an amazing forward movement" had taken place "in the whole field of public social work" in the state.

In 1920 the agencies that had been associated informally since 1915 in the Bureau for Exchange of Information organized the Child Welfare League of America, which had much the same objects in its field as the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity had in the field of family welfare, and had had somewhat the same course of development and similar relations to Russell Sage Foundation. The Foundation housed the new league without charge for rent and within a few years began a series of substantial grants in money. C. C. Carstens was the first executive officer of the League.

Ten years after the first "Code Commission" was appointed in 1911, interest in state programs of child welfare had grown so much that demands for help had far outstripped the amount that could be given by Dr. Hart's department, even if it had done nothing else, and by the National Committee for Standardizing Children's Laws (Mr. Carstens, chairman), which was composed of busy executives and had no staff of its own. In 1921 Mr.

Carstens was asked by the Committee to appoint a subcommittee to consider what might be done. William Hodson, a young lawyer who had been secretary of the Child Welfare Commission of Minnesota in 1917-1918 and then secretary of the State Children's Bureau created as a result of the Commission's work and a lecturer in the state university, was chairman of this subcommittee.

The conclusion reached was that a consultant service with no other obligations was needed. In November, 1921, the National Committee formally requested Russell Sage Foundation to provide such a service by establishing a Division of Child Welfare Legislation in its Department of Child-Helping. The Trustees acted favorably in June, 1922. The National Committee, asked to nominate a man for the position, unanimously recommended Mr. Hodson as the best-qualified person in the country. In this judgment Dr. Hart, who had followed his work in Minnesota closely, and Mr. Glenn concurred. Mr. Hodson was appointed chief of the Division and began work in that capacity on January 1, 1923, from headquarters in Minneapolis.

Mr. Hodson's first engagements were in the Middle West. He helped frame legislation for North and South Dakota, and participated in conferences in Iowa, Texas, and other states in that part of the country. In connection with the National Conference of Social Work held in Washington in May (the fiftieth anniversary session) he arranged for two meetings on progressive developments in legislation for the protection of children. The six papers prepared for these meetings, with a brief Foreword by Mr. Hodson, were published by the Foundation early the following year.¹

Toward the end of 1923 the Commissioners of the District of Columbia appointed a Commission on Public Welfare Legislation, consisting of 17 citizens of the District, to consider what should be done to improve the administration of its public welfare activities. Mr. Hodson acted as consultant and executive secretary. This occupied most of his time in 1924. He succeeded in

¹ Recent Progress in Child Welfare Legislation. 1924. This was the last pamphlet issued by the Department of Child-Helping.

enlisting active co-operation by nearly all the social and civic organizations of the District in planning how to bring order out of the chaotic body of legislation then governing the administration of the public welfare agencies and institutions.

The outcome was a bill to create a Board of Public Welfare, superseding three independent boards and providing for centralized and co-ordinated administration. It was introduced in April, 1924, passed by the House, defeated by one vote in the Senate, reintroduced in the next Congress, and became law on March 16, 1926. While in Washington Mr. Hodson assisted in drafting other bills also, including one for reorganizing the juvenile court of the District, one for compulsory education, and one providing for mothers' pensions.

Dr. Hart had been actively interested in penology long before he came to Russell Sage Foundation. Juvenile delinquency was, of course, within the province of the Department of Child-Helping, and he kept up his associations with the organizations and the leading individuals concerned with the treatment of adult criminals. His state studies in 1917 and 1918 brought him into fresh contact with penal systems and administrative problems. After the war he was consulted more and more frequently on such problems and became increasingly absorbed in them.

The last investigation undertaken by the Department of Child-Helping was in the field of delinquency: a study of 151 institutions for delinquent boys and girls. It was begun in 1921 by Mr. Slingerland of the department staff and Miss Margaret Reeves, an experienced social worker engaged expressly for this project, to cover the institutions for girls. By the fall of 1924 both reports had been drafted. Mr. Slingerland died in December before his report was completed. One feature of it, however, had a practical result. This was a plan for a school to train workers for institutions for delinquent boys, which was the inspiration for the National Training School for Executives and Institutional Workers established by the Children's Village at Dobbs Ferry, New York, in 1925. Miss Reeves went to New Mexico in November as director of the State Bureau of Child Welfare. After some delay her report

on the 57 institutions exclusively for girls was issued in book form.¹ Notwithstanding the lapse of five years, the "facts and inferences," said Dr. Hart in his Foreword, were "not out of date."

At the meeting of the American Prison Association in 1921 Dr. Hart presented the report of one of the most important committees.² He was elected president for the ensuing year. From this time on, although his designation in the Foundation was not changed until three years later, he was occupied largely in the realm of penology. He prepared a quarto volume of building plans for prisons and reformatories,³ which was issued in October, 1922, in time for the Congress of the American Prison Association. His presidential address⁴ was published by the Foundation early in 1923.

Among the matters on which Dr. Hart's counsel was sought and given in the three years ending September, 1924, were the penitentiary system of Pennsylvania, a troublesome situation at the Connecticut State Farm for Women, a prison program for the city of St. Louis, the institutions operated by the Commissioner of Correction of New York City, a model county prison for misdemeanants projected for one of the smaller cities of Pennsylvania, a proposed society for helping discharged prisoners in North Carolina, plans for new jails in Cleveland and in Chicago. He was consulted frequently about "the prison situation" in Ohio, and in January, 1924, participated in a statewide speaking campaign intended to promote public interest in the prisons and other social work of the state. En route to the meeting of the American Prison Association in Salt Lake City in August, 1924, he visited "about twenty-five" prisons and reformatories, making or renewing acquaintances and "consulting" in each place.

¹ Training Schools for Delinquent Girls. 1929.

² Committee on Treatment of Persons Awaiting Court Action and Misdemeanant Prisoners. This report and nine other papers read at this meeting were published as pamphlets of the Department of Child-Helping.

³ Plans and Illustrations of Prisons and Reformatories.

⁴ Penology an Educational Problem. Issued as a pamphlet of the Department of Child-Helping.

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By this time Dr. Hart was quite clear that he wanted to spend the rest of his "working time" (he was now in his seventy-third year) in the field of delinquency and penology. When he became superintendent of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, ten years before coming to the Foundation, there were few qualified persons engaged in work for dependent and neglected children. Now there were hundreds, competent and well trained. The number actively interested in improving correctional and reformatory work, on the other hand, was no larger than it had been at the close of the nineteenth century. His experience in complying with requests for help on penological matters over the past six years¹ had convinced him that his time could be "usefully employed in this field."

The Trustees of the Foundation acquiesced in Dr. Hart's wishes. In November, 1924, they relieved him of responsibility for the Department of Child-Helping as of October 1 and designated him consultant in delinquency and penology. At the same meeting they appointed William Hodson to succeed him as director of the Department of Child-Helping and changed its name to Department of Social Legislation.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Dr. Hart's request for a change in his status and duties had naturally raised questions about the future of the Department of Child-Helping. No new investigations in the care of children had been initiated for three years. No unfinished studies were pending. The two reports on institutions for delinquent boys and girls were in the hands of the Editorial Department. Mr. Slingerland, the only remaining member of the permanent staff, had reached the age of seventy and since August had been critically ill. The Child Welfare League of America was developing into a vigorous organization which could be expected to stimulate improvement in standards of service and in other ways meet the needs of its members and promote public understanding of the problems of

¹ His state programs had included penal institutions and had led to further consultation on problems in the field of penology.

child welfare. It was anticipated that the Foundation would henceforth be called upon chiefly for such help as Mr. Hodson had been giving as head of the Division of Child Welfare Legislation.

Mr. Hodson's experience had shown, however, that the name of that division did not accurately describe its work. It had become obvious that there was no sharp line between law for the child and law for the adult. Legislation for children involved legislation for adults, and the whole family must be taken into account, particularly in connection with the administrative aspects of legislation. On Mr. Hodson's recommendation, accordingly, the name of the Department was changed. The Department of Social Legislation was not considered a new department but a continuation of the Department of Child-Helping under a new name.

On his appointment as director of the Department in the fall of 1924 Mr. Hodson came to New York to live and moved his headquarters from Minneapolis to the Russell Sage Foundation building. The purpose of the Department was described as follows:

To study the form, content, and administration of certain types of social welfare laws, especially those relating to children and the family, the judicial decisions interpreting them, and the experience of public and private case-working organizations in their practical application; to advise and to assist, upon request, state commissions on child welfare and public welfare, or other similar bodies, in the study and revision of their social welfare legislation.

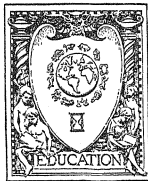
At the end of a year Mr. Hodson proposed an expanded program that would include systematic review of the laws in the Department's field in every state and provide for keeping the record up to date from the session laws as they were printed; similar review and record of judicial decisions bearing on the interpretation of the laws; comparative studies in various jurisdictions on the state of the law on certain subjects, such as adoption; studies of the working of particular laws and their degree of success in

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accomplishing their intention. During the year he gave valued help to Miss Richmond in her study of marriage laws.

By this time, however, plans for establishing the Welfare Council of New York City were nearing completion. Mr. Hodson¹ was sought as executive director of the new agency and was attracted by the possibilities it offered. He resigned from the Foundation as of November 1, 1925. No successor was appointed.

¹ After nearly nine years with the Welfare Council, Mr. Hodson became Commissioner of Public Welfare of the City of New York in January, 1934. He was killed in a plane crash in Dutch Guiana nine years later, January 20, 1943, while on leave of absence to undertake a special mission for Herbert H. Lehman, director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations.



*Architectural detail from the east façade,
Russell Sage Foundation Building*

XXII

DELINQUENCY AND PENOLOGY: 1924-1932

DR. HART'S "working time" lasted seven years after his change of title in the fall of 1924. In July of 1931 he had a serious operation. He recovered sufficiently to do a little work in the fall, but his health failed through the winter and he died on May 9, 1932, in his eighty-first year.

Through his years as consultant in delinquency and penology, Dr. Hart kept his characteristic youthful vigor of spirit. He welcomed each problem brought to him as a fresh adventure and was always looking ahead eagerly to projects he himself had in mind. As late as December, 1931, he was still entertaining new requests for consultation and proposing new projects. The fatigue of long journeys seemed never to enter into his consideration. In one of his last years he visited 35 prisons, reformatories, and jails scattered over the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. At the end of each year he was "more than ever impressed with the importance and value of the work we have undertaken." He believed that the Foundation, independent as it was of "political influences and other embarrassing forces," was in a unique position to promote improvement in penal and correctional legislation and administration "for an indefinite time in the future."

INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS

In the summer of 1925 Dr. Hart attended the International Prison Congress in London as one of the 12 official delegates from the United States, and the Universal Christian Conference for Life and Work in Stockholm, where he presented one of the two papers on the program in the field of penology. On this trip he visited 47 prisons and reformatories in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, and Germany. He was impressed

with the strong influence of American ideas on reformatories for adults in Germany and Great Britain; with the improvements brought about in the jails of Great Britain and France by centralizing control in the national government; and with the great advance that had taken place in the fifteen years since the meeting of the International Congress in Washington in 1910, as indicated by the resolutions adopted unanimously by the representatives of 52 nations.

Much of Dr. Hart's work as consultant in delinquency and penology originated in the years before 1924 when he was increasingly occupied with problems in this field, or in associations that dated still farther back. Two of his major interests throughout the period were conditions in the jails and lockups of the country and reorganization of the correctional system of New York City.

CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM OF NEW YORK CITY

On the request of George W. Wickersham, acting for the Prison Association of New York, the State Charities Aid Association, and the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, Dr. Hart in 1924 submitted two reports¹ on the Reorganization and Reconstruction of the Convict Prison System of the City of New York. In them he endorsed recommendations previously made by the Grand Jury of New York County that Welfare Island be abandoned as a site for correctional institutions, and that the New York County Penitentiary be removed to Rikers Island and the Correctional Hospital for Women to some other location. He recommended further the establishment of a Reception and Distribution Prison and a suitable institution for drug addicts, and the employment of convicts to handle the garbage and other city waste dumped on Rikers Island.

In the spring of 1926, on a joint request by the Commissioner of Correction and the warden of the Manhattan City Prison ("the Tombs"), Dr. Hart made a detailed study of that notorious

¹ Published by the Prison Association of New York, March, 1925.

jail.¹ About a year later the Commissioner asked him to formulate plans for reorganizing the whole jail system for unconvicted prisoners. This, supplementing the reports of 1924 on the convict prisons, completed coverage of the prison system of the city. Dr. Hart's contribution to the Regional Survey and Plan was based on these and supplementary studies.

An advisory committee was appointed, including the county sheriffs, wardens of the city and district prisons, the chief city magistrate, judges of the Court of General Sessions, and representatives of the New York Crime Commission and of private agencies concerned with the treatment of prisoners. Individual studies were made of the 14 city and county jails of Greater New York. Special attention was given to the project for a house of detention for women awaiting trial, which had long been advocated by interested private citizens and which the Department of Correction had been pushing for several years.

In carrying through the recommendations of Dr. Hart's reports of 1924, 1926, and 1927 on the prisons and jails of New York City, the Commissioners of Correction (Frederick A. Wallis and his successor Richard C. Patterson, Jr.) called upon him at every stage for advice on their plans and for his help in arguing for them before the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. By 1930 the major recommendations were in effect or were on the way toward being realized. Improvements that could be made by administrative action (such as the use of convict labor on Rikers Island or the restriction of demoralizing privileges in the Tombs) were made with comparatively little delay. Those requiring appreciable expenditures had to wait on the deliberate processes of the city's appropriating body.

Ground was broken for the Women's House of Detention on October 30, 1929. The plans were "not perfect, but workable,"

¹ He found "desperate overcrowding," dirt, vermin, and other unsanitary conditions, an "entirely inadequate" medical department, a faulty dietary, "considerable trouble with tips and bribes," little provision for physical exercise and none for study or reading, a "most unsatisfactory" arrangement for visits of relatives and friends, and an inferior grade of guards, attributable to the low pay and the hard and unpleasant nature of the work. Specific suggestions for improving conditions were made on each point. Before the recommendations could be adopted, a terrible outbreak in the prison in November, 1926, resulted in the death of the warden, one of the guards, and three prisoners.

said Dr. Hart, and it was the first "adequate" institution of the kind in the United States. By this time, too, plans for the House of Correction on Rikers Island had been approved. The estimated cost was \$10,000,000. Dr. Hart considered this unnecessarily expensive, but thought it unwise to make an issue of the matter lest it result in further postponement. Commissioner Patterson had succeeded, furthermore, in obtaining an increase in the rate of pay for prison employes and in the number of guards for the city prisons, and in adding to the staff a social worker to look after the interests of women prisoners. In January, 1928, he had organized a Keepers' Training School, the first school of its kind in the United States.

JAILS AND LOCKUPS

Although they affect more criminals than any other type of correctional institution and a large number of innocent persons¹ as well, jails and lockups had received little sustained attention from reformers. In 1920 the American Prison Association appointed a committee on the subject, with Dr. Hart as chairman. Under different names, settling down after a few years to simply Committee on Jails, it was continued year after year and Dr. Hart continued as chairman.² For its special topic in 1924-1925 this committee undertook to report on the care of United States prisoners "boarded out" in local jails.

Boarding-out was the expedient adopted in 1789 by the young republic to provide for its prisoners of all classes. It asked the several states to make it the duty of the keepers of their jails to receive persons committed to their charge under the authority of the United States, on the understanding that the United States would pay for their keep. Establishment of three federal penitentiaries early in the twentieth century, largely through the efforts of the American Prison Association, had by 1924 reduced the use of state prisons to a vanishing point, and the opening of the two federal reformatories for men and for women, then under

¹ Innocent, at any rate, before their first acquaintance with a jail.

² In 1929 he remarked that he would probably hold the position for the rest of his life—"since nobody wants it."

consideration by Congress,¹ would provide for such prisoners as previously had been sent to state reformatories for adults. There would still be no provision under control of the federal government for United States prisoners awaiting trial or convicted of misdemeanors. About this large remnant still under the original system no useful information was at hand.

No one knew how many federal prisoners there were in city and county jails, where they were, or how they were treated. The only statistics about them published by the United States were the amounts expended for their support in each of the 84 judicial districts. Raw material for much information was available in the quarterly vouchers of the 84 United States marshals, but these had never been collated, even for use within the Department of Justice. By courtesy of the Department Dr. Hart was permitted to send in clerks to draw off data from the vouchers for tabulation.

He found that in 1924 about 65,000 federal prisoners were boarded out in 910 county and city jails and workhouses. They constituted about 50 per cent of all the federal prisoners on a given day, about 80 per cent of the total number during the year. He found also that no standards had been established as to their treatment or as to rates of pay for their care. Rates were determined by bargaining between the agent of the Department of Justice and the local authorities. In 1924 they ranged from 20 cents to \$3.00 per prisoner per day, and the rate had no necessary relation to the grade of accommodations. The two inspectors employed by the Department spent most of their time in dicker-ing about rates.

Dr. Hart's Committee called it "a hopelessly unsatisfactory system." It subjected these wards of the United States to the well-known evils of local jails, which the federal government had no power to correct and which were aggravated by the presence of the federal prisoners. The system was unfair to the prisoners committed by the local courts, who had to share accommodations that in most cases were inadequate even for themselves. It was unfair to the local taxpayers, who in most counties were in

¹ Both created by acts passed early in 1925.

the position of making a compulsory contribution to the federal government, since as a rule no rent was paid for the space occupied in their jails by federal prisoners and payments for food and other items of maintenance were less than the actual cost.

In view of the difficulty of bringing about a general reform of the county jails throughout the country, and in view of the "moral duty" of the federal government to provide for its own wards, the Committee recommended the establishment of a federal system of jails under the Department of Justice. It recommended also that a training school for prison officers be established in connection with the federal penal system.¹ The Prison Association adopted resolutions embodying these proposals.

While this study was in progress Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson, Jr., of the United States Court of the Southern District of Texas, who through the necessity of committing prisoners to jails in his district had come to feel a personal responsibility for the conditions in them, charged the Federal Grand Jury of Houston in March, 1925, to make an investigation of the Harris County jail and to return "a real report, constructive, for humanizing the jail according to the modern theory that a prisoner is a ward and not an enemy of society." One of the members of the Grand Jury remembered Dr. Hart's visit to Houston in 1911, when he went there to advise about care for delinquent children. From this circumstance it came about that he was invited to help the Grand Jury in its investigation and to draft its report, which was printed at the expense of the members and widely distributed. Within a year the people of Harris County voted a \$600,000 bond issue for a new jail. Dr. Hart's assistance was then invoked

¹ The report, revised and enlarged, containing a brief account of the federal penitentiaries and reformatories as well as the results of the study of federal prisoners in state and local institutions, was published in 1926 by the Foundation in a pamphlet called *United States Prisoners in County Jails*. The pamphlet contained also Judge Hutcheson's address at the 1925 meeting of the Prison Association, criticisms of the jail by two prisoners in Atlanta Penitentiary, and "suggestions for Grand Jury Surveys of conditions under which federal prisoners are kept in county jails," prepared by Dr. Hart.

at intervals by the president of the County Court to insure the adoption of satisfactory plans for the building.¹

Numerous opportunities were embraced to inspect jails large and small in various parts of the country, and to advise on plans for new jails projected or under construction. Dr. Hart was consulted repeatedly as plans progressed for the Cuyahoga County jail in Cleveland and the Cook County jail in Chicago. The latter got under way tardily in 1926 as the result of a report made several years earlier by George W. Kirchwey on the well-nigh incredible conditions in the old jail. When completed in 1929 it was called by Dr. Hart "the best large jail in the United States."

In June, 1926, events of the previous year in Houston were closely paralleled when Judge Louis Fitz Henry, of the United States Court for the Southern District of Illinois, charged the Grand Jury of Sangamon County to make an investigation of the seventy-five-year-old county jail in Springfield. He gave the foreman a copy of Dr. Hart's "suggestions for Grand Jury Surveys" of such problems as a guide for their study and advised them to take him with them when they visited the jail and invite him to examine witnesses. They did so and then asked him to write their report.

While in Washington for the meeting of the American Prison Association at Tacoma in August, 1927, Dr. Hart inspected five county jails and city prisons in Tacoma and Seattle and made eight public addresses in the two cities describing the conditions he found, thereby arousing a great deal of interest in the press and the local civic organizations. He made several visits during the year to Delaware County, Pennsylvania, to advise the county board on defects in the old jail and requisites for a new building, and later to testify before the Grand Jury and before the judge as to the relative merits of two rival plans. At the request of the United States Bureau of Efficiency he undertook to advise the District Board of Public Welfare about the interior arrangement

¹ Judge Hutcheson attended the meeting of the American Prison Association in November, 1925, at which Dr. Hart's report on federal prisoners was presented. He gave a moving account of his experiences in trying to deal justly and humanely with federal prisoners under the existing system, and urged the Association to recommend the establishment of federal jails, just as thirty-six years before it had recommended that the United States establish its own prisons for convicted felons.

of an addition to the "ancient and abominable" District jail in Washington, but found that the shell had been so constructed that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to plan a satisfactory interior. These are merely illustrations of the varied local problems that filled a large part of Dr. Hart's time.

A more extensive study—of the entire jail system of the state of New Jersey—was undertaken in January, 1927, at the request of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies. This study was made by Joseph F. Fishman, Dr. Hart's assistant from the spring of 1925 to March, 1928.¹ Mr. Fishman visited every jail in New Jersey, in company with the State Inspector of Institutions, and prepared an elaborate report, containing about 50 specific recommendations. The members of the State Board of Control invited Dr. Hart and Mr. Fishman to meet with them when they discussed the report. Immediate steps were taken to correct many of the evils brought to light, and many other recommendations were adopted, to be put into effect as soon as possible.² Dr. Hart and Mr. Fishman attended several conferences of New Jersey officials to discuss how they could be carried out. At the request of the Commissioner they prepared uniform rules for the jails of the state.

Incidentally, when the Board of Freeholders of Burlington County took steps to remodel the ancient county jail built in 1808, the original plans were found, together with a brief by the architect, Robert Mills of Philadelphia, setting forth his idea of

¹ Mr. Fishman had been an inspector of jails and prisons for the United States for thirteen years. Besides making the survey of New Jersey jails, he assisted Dr. Hart in his studies of federal prisoners in local jails and of the New York City prisons and on various other projects. He made studies of the possibility of installing industries in county jails and of methods of delousing and sterilizing; compiled the laws relating to federal penitentiaries and reformatories and all the state laws relating to United States prisoners; visited 25 or 30 jails to collect actual data on the cost of maintaining United States prisoners. In short, he worked intimately with Dr. Hart on everything he was doing during the three years. He left the Foundation to become Deputy Commissioner of Correction of New York City.

² The revelation that seemed to shock both the Commissioner and his board most of all was that "in practically every jail in the state" prisoners were held two to five months or longer merely awaiting trial—a state of affairs not peculiar to New Jersey. One man had been held nine months, through two terms of court, and in the opinion of the sheriff there was not the slightest chance that he would be convicted. Persons not even charged with a crime had been in jail for long periods. A young girl held as a witness had been confined in two jails successively for a total of six months. Even insane persons were kept in local jails as long as ten days.

what a county jail should be. His statement of principles and his design for a structure that would favor putting them into practice accorded to an astonishing degree with the accepted standards 120 years later.¹ The jail had been in constant use since it was built. Some improvements had been made (a heating plant, running water, electric lights) but it had never been enlarged. Instead of erecting an entirely new structure, the Board of Freeholders in 1928, under pressure of local sentiment, decided to preserve the beautiful old building and put up an addition that would treble its capacity.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION

Federal prisoners, both in federal institutions and in local jails, continued to be an absorbing concern. In 1927 Dr. Hart decided that a congressional investigation was needed to supply authoritative information and stimulate action. The newly appointed United States Superintendent of Prisons resented criticism of the boarding-out system. The Atlanta and the Leavenworth penitentiaries were overcrowded 100 per cent, the one at McNeil Island 50 per cent. The reformatory for men was still housed in "flimsy wooden firetraps" built for temporary barracks during the World War. There had been no inquiry by Congress for forty years.

Dr. Hart interested John J. Boylan, representative from New York City, who for a number of years had been chairman of the New York State Senate Committee on Prisons. Mr. Boylan introduced a resolution on the opening day of Congress in December, 1927. In spite of vigorous opposition by the Attorney General and the Superintendent of Prisons, a substitute resolution, containing all the provisions of the original one and adding the subject of prison labor, was adopted unanimously on the closing day of the session, May 28, 1928. The members of the Congressional Committee asked Dr. Hart to accompany them on their visits to institutions. The United States Bureau of Efficiency took

¹ A Model Jail of the Olden Time, designs by Robert Mills, architect, Philadelphia, May, 1808; summarized by Captain George J. Giger, Director of Inspections, Department of Institutions and Agencies, State of New Jersey. 1928.

an active interest in the investigation and retained Amos W. Butler¹ of Indiana as consultant to the Committee. Mr. Butler conferred frequently with Dr. Hart.

The Committee held hearings in Washington early in January, 1929, and submitted its report in February. Although the report of necessity was hastily prepared it set forth clearly the defects in the system and made excellent recommendations, many of which were adopted by the new Attorney General appointed by President Hoover. The office of Superintendent of Prisons was strengthened by making it a major bureau of the Department of Justice, appointing Sanford Bates, Commissioner of the Department of Correction of Massachusetts, to the position, and increasing his staff from 21 to 50. Congestion at the Leavenworth penitentiary was relieved by making use of the military barracks at the Fort. Within a few months a jail for the detention of federal prisoners was established in New York City, the first of several that the Committee recommended should be provided immediately.²

Superintendent Bates went to work energetically to improve the service, recruiting competent assistants and studying the 1,100 federal and local institutions used by the Department. He asked Dr. Hart to lay out a plan for a training school for federal prison officers and guards. The school was connected with the United States Detention Headquarters in New York City. Its opening session was held in the first three months of 1930. While working out his curriculum the director of the school spent three weeks in Dr. Hart's office, using his collection of material and conferring with him on plans. Dr. Hart lectured frequently at the United States Training School for Prison Officers, as at the New York City Keepers' Training School organized two years earlier. He brought together for publication the plans and syllabi of

¹ Formerly secretary of the Board of State Charities of Indiana.

² Other recommendations included extension of the federal probation system and reorganization of the parole system; establishment of the two institutions for narcotics already authorized, and of two additional federal penitentiaries and a hospital for criminal insane; improved supervision of state and local institutions used for United States prisoners; more employment for convicts; and psychopathic examination on admission.

these two schools and of the British Training School for Prison Officers conducted at the Wakefield Prison in England.¹

By 1929 reconstruction of the prison system of New York City and improvement in provision for federal prisoners, the two causes for which Dr. Hart had been working steadily since 1924, had made great progress, measured by the usual rate in such matters. Comparatively little concrete improvement could be seen in the jails of the country taken as a whole, but several of the large cities and scattered counties had replaced their antiquated structures and methods with institutions conforming to modern standards, or were planning to do so; one state, New Jersey, had made a comprehensive survey of all the jails within its bounds, had studied the picture with concern as well as chagrin, and had already brought about some changes for the better; there were evidences of increasing interest on the part of the public in this discouraging subject; and there was reason to hope that the new program of the Department of Justice would indirectly, through better supervision of the jails to which federal prisoners were committed, tend to raise standards in other local jails as well.

STATE PRISON SYSTEMS

This lull in the two projects that had been foremost in Dr. Hart's work for five years gave a chance for new undertakings. His committee on jails of the American Prison Association intended next to take up city and village police stations, "many of which," he said, "are even worse than the county jails." To Dr. Hart personally came requests to help with plans for the prison system of two states. In previous years he had been consulted from time to time about the systems of Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Texas. Early in 1929 the legislature of Missouri appointed a State Survey Commission to study the entire administrative system of the state, covering some 60 state departments and state institutions. Dr. Hart helped on the investigation of the correctional and reformatory institutions in the summer.

In New York also state officials and public opinion had become aroused, by violent outbreaks at Dannemora and Auburn and in

¹ Training Schools for Prison Officers. 1930.

prisons outside the state, to the danger of allowing well-known defects in the system to continue uncorrected. Governor Roosevelt called a conference of prison officials and representatives of private organizations in September, 1929. In addition to reports by wardens on existing conditions and discussion of causes of the recent outbreaks, a tentative program of reconstruction and new construction was submitted by Commissioner Kieb. It contemplated an expenditure of about \$37,000,000 in the next five years.

Dr. Hart anticipated serious opposition to "such an extraordinary program" at a time when New York City had under way two prison projects that would cost \$12,000,000. He criticized the program for the slight attention given to "the reformatory idea" as compared with the great stress laid on security against outbreaks and escapes. Later, by appointment of the Governor, he served on the Commission to Investigate Prison Administration and Construction, of which Sam Lewisohn was chairman. With the consent of the chairman he filed a protest printed in the Commission's report, against what he considered the extravagance of the plans for the new state prison at Attica.

LAST UNDERTAKINGS

In his last year of active life Dr. Hart began a comprehensive study of police jails and lockups in cities and villages throughout the United States. The opportunity came when George W. Wickersham, chairman of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, appointed him chairman of an Advisory Committee on Penal Institutions, Probation, and Parole. Through questionnaires to 15,000 cities and villages information was obtained from four-fifths of the cities of 25,000 population and over and from a gratifying number of smaller places, down to villages of fewer than 500 inhabitants. The report based on these replies, published in condensed form by the National Commission in June, 1931, was the first authoritative picture of conditions in police jails and lockups. Dr. Hart proposed to follow this study of defects by a report on administration, which would point the way to improvement.

Dr. Hart was not able to attend the Congress of the American Prison Association in October, 1931. The report of his Committee on Jails was read by his secretary, Miss Florence Hardy. His successor as chairman of the Committee was Joseph F. Fishman.

During the early winter of 1931, while he was in the Sanitarium at Battle Creek, Dr. Hart did the final work on his Plans for City Police Jails and Village Lockups, published two days after his death.¹ He intended to use this in an active campaign for which his study for the Wickersham Committee had laid the foundation. His last project, in which he was associated with Mr. Wickersham, was for a Police Jails Advisory Bureau, to be affiliated with the American Prison Association and Russell Sage Foundation, which would be a center of "constructive service for the management and planning of municipal and county jails."

When he died Dr. Hart had been twenty-four years on the staff of Russell Sage Foundation. For the first sixteen of those years he was engaged primarily in work for improving the care of dependent, defective, and delinquent children, but his activities were by no means limited to that field. For the last eight years he devoted himself almost exclusively to the neglected field of the treatment of adult criminals. Obituary notices for the most part described him as "penologist."

¹ A companion volume to his Plans and Illustrations of Prisons and Reformatories, published ten years earlier.

XXIII

CHARITY ORGANIZATION: 1918-1930

MISS RICHMOND'S health, never robust, began to fail perceptibly from the summer of 1918. In the years that remained she was obliged increasingly to husband her strength and to limit her undertakings to those that seemed to her most important and within her physical powers. She died on September 12, 1928, after several years of rapidly diminishing strength and months of acute suffering at the end.

The last year of her life and the two following years—to the fall of 1930—were an interval between two distinct periods in the Charity Organization Department. Mr. Hall continued as associate director until October, 1928, when he began work as editor of the Social Work Year Book, undertaken by the Foundation on his initiative.¹ Miss Richmond's successor, Miss Joanna C. Colcord, was appointed in November, 1928, but did not take office until August, 1929. During most of the year 1928-1929, therefore, the Department had no acting head, though Mr. Hall from his new office attended to current matters. Miss Colcord's first year was devoted largely to preparation of *The Long View*, a volume commemorating Miss Richmond's life and work. By the end of that year, September, 1930, the great depression was taking the Department's program into its own hands. The year 1930-1931, which was the close of a period in the general history of the Foundation, was the beginning of a new phase of activity in the Charity Organization Department.

SPECIAL SERVICES: 1918-1927

In the early twenties several services that had been maintained by the Charity Organization Department were transferred to the expanding American Association for Organizing Family Social Work or were arranged for in some other way.

¹ See p. 429.

The confidential Charity Organization Bulletin was ended with the issue of October–November, 1918, in anticipation of the launching of *The Family* by the Association. Miss Richmond had a hand in planning the new publication, served on its advisory committee, wrote a dedicatory foreword to its first issue, which appeared in March, 1920, and contributed to it frequently thereafter.

In May, 1922, for the last time Miss Richmond conducted her annual four-week Institute of Family Social Work. She was assisted this year by Miss Gertrude Vaile. When, in 1925, the Institute was resumed under the auspices of the Association she gave four lectures. This month each spring with a selected group of young workers had been one of her greatest joys since 1910. She held her last conference for casework supervisors in the fall of 1923.

Responsibility for the Transportation Agreement was transferred in 1922 to a newly organized committee, the Committee on Transportation of Allied National Agencies. At the time of transfer there were 934 signers to the Agreement. Mr. Hall became a member of the new committee.

Exchange of forms and circulation of scrapbooks among charity organization societies was continued by the Department under Mr. Hall's supervision until 1925. By that time the societies generally had lost interest in the service, because of the development of joint appeals and publicity through community chests. Demand kept up, on the other hand, for the record forms supplied by the Department at cost. Several new forms were issued in 1918 and 1920. In 1922, when applications to the societies and caseloads were increased by the temporary economic depression, sales totaled nearly 192,000 copies. After that the general trend was downward until at the end of the period it was reversed as a consequence of the great depression. The highest figure, about 450,000 copies, was reached in 1931–1932.

With the intention of carrying further the preparation of case records for use in teaching, a "case research secretary," Miss Helen Wallerstein, was added to the staff in January, 1920. She selected and edited four records, which were printed and dis-

tributed to a limited list of persons in October, 1920, as Social Case Histories, Series II. The series went no farther. Miss Wallerstein left on account of illness in November, and her place was not filled.

Another undertaking also, a few years later, was ended in similar circumstances. In January, 1926, Miss Annie I. Gerry was engaged to offer the family welfare societies of the country a correspondence service on difficult cases. Within a few months societies in 20 cities submitted records for criticism. Some of them sent several. The service was discontinued in April, 1927, when illness forced Miss Gerry to resign.

SOCIAL WORK SERIES: 1918-1925

Before Social Diagnosis was finished, Miss Richmond was projecting a series of publications "in sharp contrast" to it—"small books written for the larger public which is now becoming interested in practical casework problems." Each volume "should be authoritative but not too detailed, and the form of presentation and of printing should be designed to attract and inform the less initiated." In the summer of 1917 she began work on a handbook for volunteers, which, after radical modifications of the original plan, became the final volume of this series.

Although at the beginning Miss Richmond had in mind a dozen or more volumes that might be useful, the series consisted of only five, published within a period of about four years. Except for the one by Miss Richmond, they were written on commission by persons not on the regular staff of the Foundation. In order of publication, they were as follows:

Disasters, by J. Byron Deacon, 1918. An account of the experience of the American Red Cross in disaster relief since 1906, with discussion of principles. Mr. Deacon was general secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, on leave of absence at the time, serving the American Red Cross as division director of Civilian Relief for Pennsylvania.

Household Management, by Florence Nesbitt, 1918. A manual on home economics prepared especially for case-

workers. Miss Nesbitt was then director of the Food Conservation Section of the Cleveland Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense. She had been a caseworker in the United Charities of Chicago and in the mothers' pension department of the Chicago Juvenile Court.

Broken Homes, by Joanna C. Colcord, 1919. A study of family desertion and its social treatment, dealing with the newer concepts of family disorganization. Miss Colcord at that time was superintendent of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York.

Social Case History, by Ada Eliot Sheffield, 1920. The first textbook on the "construction and content" of case records. Mrs. Sheffield was a prominent member of boards of social agencies in Boston. An address she made in 1913 on "The Charity Director" was published as a pamphlet by the Department. She had given Miss Richmond valued help on parts of *Social Diagnosis*.

What Is Social Case Work?, by Mary E. Richmond, 1922. In its final form this was "an introductory description" addressed to the intelligent general public, not the handbook for volunteers, to take the place of her *Friendly Visiting Among the Poor*,¹ that she had in mind when she began working on it.

What Is Social Case Work? was by far the most popular item of the series. French and Dutch translations were published in 1926. About 16,500 copies in English have been sold and it is still in demand. The other volumes also had a cordial reception. Next to Miss Richmond's in point of sales were Mrs. Sheffield's, Miss Colcord's (still on the active list), and Miss Nesbitt's. The record suggests that a longer series of the same character would have been welcomed by that "larger public" Miss Richmond had in mind when it was projected.

DEPRESSION OF 1920-1921

In the depression of 1914-1915 Miss Richmond had called together secretaries of charity organization societies to discuss conditions, principles, and policies, and had kept them informed

¹ Published by Macmillan Co. in 1899.

of developments through the pages of the Charity Organization Bulletin. By 1921 the responsibility for such action rested with the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. Both Miss Richmond and Mr. Hall participated in the two-day conference held under its auspices in October, 1921. They were in close touch with the staff of the Association throughout the winter. In March Miss Richmond met with them to discuss the current situation and the outlook.

At the request of Miss van Kleeck, who was a member of the President's Conference on Unemployment, Miss Richmond prepared a memorandum on Emergency Relief in Times of Unemployment, which was used by the committee on community programs of the Conference. It was not printed at the time, but was included in *The Long View*¹ and was reprinted and widely distributed in the great depression of the thirties. In collecting material for this memorandum, Miss Richmond found that accounts of what had been done in previous periods of unemployment were scattered and scanty. To supply a more satisfactory record for the current depression, Philip Klein was engaged in November, 1921, as special investigator to study events in selected cities. The resulting book² contained firsthand accounts of conditions and measures in 15 cities of varied character, from Boston to Sioux Falls, from Minneapolis to Memphis.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

As long as her health permitted, Miss Richmond was active in the National Conference of Social Work. Her addresses were memorable and she served on important committees. In 1922 she allowed herself to be nominated for president, but was relieved when she was not elected. She accepted membership, however, on the special committee on program for the fiftieth anniversary meeting to be held in Washington the following year, and wrote the plan for it that was adopted.

In the spring of 1918 she organized an "informal and unadvertised" Committee on Professional Organization, a small

¹ Pp. 510-525.

² *The Burden of Unemployment*. 1923.

group of selected social caseworkers interested in working out an acceptable terminology¹ and in formulating standards of professional conduct. This committee, rather like a club, did some hard work and had animated discussions at intervals for three years. It dissolved in 1921, when the American Association of Social Workers was organized.

Miss Richmond kept up her membership on committees of the New York Charity Organization Society through 1924. For three years, 1922-1924, she served on the advisory board of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, and she had personal or formal relations with a number of kinds of social work outside her own special province. After 1924 she withdrew from continuing committee responsibilities, but in 1927 she took a leading part² in planning for the Conference on Family Life in America Today, called by the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the first charity organization society in the United States.

Mr. Hall was a member of the Committee on Transportation and of the New York Child Labor Committee throughout the period.

STUDIES IN MARRIAGE LAWS

Dominating the work of the Department in this second period of its history, as Social Diagnosis had dominated the first period, was a series of studies in the administration of marriage laws. For ten years from the summer of 1918 they engaged most of the time of the director and the associate director and of several assistants added to the staff for shorter periods to do particular pieces of work.

As chairman of the Committee on Difficult Cases of the Charity Organization Society Miss Richmond had noticed that

¹ This was the period of revolt against the word "charity." Miss Richmond's department kept its original name but she had favored a change in the name of the National Conference in 1917 and had been largely responsible for the adoption of "Social Work" for the new name rather than "Social Welfare" or "Social Service" or "Social Betterment." She had approved and encouraged also the change of name to "Family Social Work" or "Family Welfare" on the part of the American Association and its constituent societies.

² As honorary chairman of the Conference Committee.

a majority of the cases brought to the Committee, and the most difficult ones, involved marital relations. Her tentative plans for the year 1918-1919 contemplated a study of "methods of dealing with differences between husband and wife" as shown in the best available case records. As, however, "a considerable number" of these troubles "could be traced to ill-devised and indifferently administered marriage laws," a study of the laws and their administration seemed to be a necessary foundation for the casework study. Accordingly she set to work to lay this foundation.

First, a digest of the marriage laws in force in all the states was prepared by Mr. Hall with the assistance of Miss Elisabeth W. Brooke. It was published in the spring of 1919,¹ simultaneously with Miss Colcord's *Broken Homes*, which was a contribution to understanding of the general subject, though not planned as a part of this study.

Collection of material bearing on the administration of the laws went on systematically in the office, and in January, 1920, Miss Alice W. Hill, who had been an investigator for the federal Children's Bureau, was engaged as field worker, to visit selected cities in selected states, examine the workings of the license bureaus, and interview clergymen, social workers, judges, prosecuting officials, and others who could contribute to a picture of current practices. Field work was continued, under Mr. Hall's supervision, through the summer of 1921.

Meanwhile Mr. Hall began a study of the so-called "eugenic marriage law" of Wisconsin, which required that every man applying for license to marry should file a certificate by a licensed physician stating that he had made a thorough examination of the applicant and believed him to be "free from all venereal diseases." Results of this study were published as a pamphlet early in 1925.²

For two years a considerable part of Mr. Hall's time was spent in analyzing, summarizing, and collating the mass of material

¹ *American Marriage Laws in Their Social Aspects: A Digest*, by Fred S. Hall and Elisabeth W. Brooke, 1919. The edition of 2,500 copies (2,000 in paper covers) was exhausted before 1925, and by that time the material was out of date.

² *Medical Certification for Marriage*, by Fred S. Hall, 1925.

that had been accumulated in the office—newspaper clippings, correspondence, notes on reading, and Miss Hill's reports on her field visits in 83 cities of 28 states. In the summer of 1923, "on the basis of Mr. Hall's very full notes," Miss Richmond began work on the major book of the series, to be called *Marriage and the State*.

One of the first parts written treated of marriages of children in the United States. At the urging of a number of persons to whom this section was submitted, it was published in advance as a separate book.¹ Like the pamphlet on medical certification, issued two months earlier, this was a unit that could stand by itself, on a subject that was of current interest. Both topics were covered in condensed form in *Marriage and the State*.

In order that the book in preparation might be based on full knowledge of the existing state of the law and also with a view to publishing a new edition of the *Digest* of 1919, a young graduate of the Harvard Law School, Geoffrey May, was engaged to analyze all the statutes relating to marriage that were then in effect in the United States and to abstract the principal court decisions interpreting them. Mr. May began work in January, 1926. His book² was published a few days after *Marriage and the State*, as a companion volume.

From the time the first *Digest* appeared in 1919 opportunities for discussion of legislative proposals and administrative aspects of the laws had multiplied and were welcomed. The American Association for Organizing Family Social Work was encouraged in 1922 to set up a standing committee on marriage laws, for which Mr. Hall carried a substantial amount of responsibility. As time went on drafts of bills were frequently submitted for criticism. Medical Certification and Child Marriages attracted a great deal of attention in the press, and brought new occasions for consultation, opportunities to influence legislation and practice, requests for articles and addresses. In 1927 twice as many marriage bills were introduced in the state legislatures as in any other year since these studies began, and 28 were passed. Inci-

¹ *Child Marriages*, by Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, 1925.

² *Marriage Laws and Decisions in the United States*, by Geoffrey May, 1929.

dental advisory and educational work of this sort took some time from writing, but it affected Miss Richmond less than Mr. Hall.

VALEDICTORY

Miss Richmond was deeply involved for a year or more in the plans for celebrating in October, 1927, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the first charity organization society in the United States. She had proposed the celebration. She largely shaped the plans that made the program an examination of *Family Life in America Today*. Her own address¹ was on the concern of the community with marriage, than which, she said, "no larger question, as it seems to me, is likely to demand your attention during the next fifty years."

This was her last appearance in public. Knowing that she was not far from the end of her life, she closed with a moving message to her colleagues in family social work—what she would wish to say to them, she said, if she were "going on a long journey and not likely to come back." She urged them to study and develop their work "at its point of intersection with the other services and social activities" of the community; to do their daily tasks "from the basis of the whole and with that background always in mind"; to "knit into the pattern" of the fabric of society the threads of their own specialty; to disregard eddies and flurries and crazes, and let their minds "carry through to the practical next steps by which genuine social advance is achieved."

Two chapters of *Marriage and the State* remained to be written. They were written early that winter. Through the increasing pain and exhaustion of the following summer Miss Richmond herself corrected proofs of the book.² It was published four months after her death on September 12, 1928.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

During her long period of declining health Miss Richmond thought a great deal about the future of the Charity Organization Department. She wanted to resign so that a successor might

¹ Included in *The Long View*, pp. 602-616.

² *Marriage and the State*, by Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall, 1929.

be appointed who could carry on the work vigorously. In February, 1927, she reviewed in a brief statement what it had done and indicated her ideas for its future activities. They included a continuance of advisory service on the improvement and the administration of marriage laws; resumption of the annual Institute and Supervisors' Conference, and of preparation of case records for teaching material; and new studies "of family life and of the conditions necessary for its wholesome development." She made these suggestions "tentatively," for she realized that "the choice of a new leader" would "have to shape the future of the Department and rightly so."

After her death the Foundation was urged by persons familiar with the needs of family work and of the training schools to continue the Department. They argued the advantage of studies made by such an institution—in close touch with practical social work, but not committed to the promotion of any single type of work, and not open to suspicion of bias or partisan interest. In reporting to the Trustees on November 20, 1928, the general director said:

I venture to say that nothing has done more to add to the prestige of our Foundation than what has been accomplished by Miss Richmond and her colleagues. It has had a widespread, permanent, and fundamental influence on social thought and action, not only with reference to social work, but in many directions, and not only in this country, but in many foreign countries. This splendid influence should be continued and increased.

There were only a few persons, he said, who could be considered for the position of director of the Department. After canvassing the possibilities with the aid of Mr. Harrison, he recommended the appointment of Miss Joanna C. Colcord. Miss Colcord was well known as writer, speaker, and executive. She had studied under Miss Richmond in the New York School of Philanthropy in 1910-1911 and had been closely associated with her in various ways. From 1911 to 1924 she had held a series of positions in ascending rank in the New York Charity Organization Society, and in 1925 had gone to Minneapolis as general

secretary of the Family Welfare Association of that city, where she also taught in the state university. She had been Miss Richmond's choice as her successor.

Miss Colcord's appointment was approved by the Trustees at the meeting of November 20, 1928. She could not leave Minneapolis until the following summer. On August 1, 1929, she began work at the Foundation.

A QUIET INTERVAL: 1928-1930

After the last two books in the series on marriage laws were published, early in 1929, Miss Ruth Mann, who had been Miss Richmond's secretary and was now appointed editorial assistant to Miss Colcord, began assembling, under Miss Colcord's supervision *in absentia*, a collection of Miss Richmond's papers and material for an account of her life. Preparation of this book¹ occupied the Department for a year after Miss Colcord came to New York.

The material selected for *The Long View* included not only the more important papers that had been printed, some of which were no longer obtainable, but also a number of addresses not previously published. Arranged in five groups following a chronological sequence, they provide a record of Miss Richmond's "developing philosophy of social work," which is enriched by Miss Colcord's biographical introductions to the five parts, supplying the external facts of her life, telling of her extra-professional interests, and relating her developing philosophy to the changing currents of her times.

From the day of her appointment as director of the Department Miss Colcord naturally gave much thought to its future program. The work on marriage laws, as far as it had been planned, was completed. There were no unfinished studies under way. When the preservation of Miss Richmond's scattered writings and the story of her life had been assured, the Department would be in position to undertake whatever lines of work seemed most needed. The presumption was that they would be in the

¹ *The Long View*, papers and addresses by Mary E. Richmond, selected and edited, with biographical notes, by Joanna C. Colcord and Ruth Z. S. Mann, 1930.

field of social casework, the Department's traditional area of interest.

One of Miss Colcord's first acts after taking up her duties was to arrange for a Supervisors' Conference to be held October 31 through November 2, 1929—the first one since 1923. This was one of the earlier activities of the Department that Miss Richmond had thought might well be resumed. Miss Colcord made it the occasion for discussing plans for research with the group. There was agreement that a handbook for casework supervisors and one on the management of small incomes were much needed.

No new studies were begun during the winter, as the Department was occupied primarily with work on *The Long View*, and Miss Colcord had many exacting committee responsibilities and speaking engagements. By the following summer it was becoming apparent that the depression was deepening rather than lifting. Accordingly, a Conference on the Coming Winter was called by the Department for three days in September, 1930. Representatives of financial federations and of other agencies concerned with community planning participated with executives of family welfare societies in the conference.¹ From this time on for a decade it was the depression that determined the Department's program, pointing its course, contrary to expectations in 1929, in new directions through unfamiliar waters. September, 1930, therefore, rather than September, 1931, is a natural dividing line in the Department's history. What it did in 1930-1931 will be included with the account of following years in a later chapter.

¹ Results were summarized by Miss Colcord in an article, "Facing the Coming Winter," in *The Survey*, November 15, 1930.

XXIV

RECREATION: 1919-1931

DURING the thirty months that Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry were engaged in war work, normal activities of the Department of Recreation were well-nigh suspended. Information was given to inquirers as far as possible, pamphlets in stock were distributed on request, and the lantern-slide service was kept up, but nothing was done to stimulate demands. No new publications were issued, no studies made, no surveys undertaken. Most of the time of the office staff, and much of the office space, was used for war work in which the director and the associate director were engaged.

RESUMPTION OF NORMAL ACTIVITIES

After their return from Washington in October, 1919, the Department got back into its prewar routine—if that word may be used of so kaleidoscopic a program.

One of the first things that had to be done was to bring information and materials up to date. The collection of lantern slides and photographs, which had become seriously depleted, and the files of reports and other reference material, were overhauled and replenished. The bibliography on play and recreation was revised and a fourth edition was published.¹ Current state laws and city ordinances were assembled and classified. This material was kept up in succeeding years. It was much used by staff and students, but it was not published because of the limited demand that could be expected.

Director and associate director picked up their numerous responsibilities in the agencies in this field, some of which were

¹ Sources of Information on Play and Recreation, by Howard R. Knight and Marguerita P. Williams, 1920. A fifth revision, made by Miss Williams, enlarged to 94 pages, was published in 1927.

now in financial or organizational difficulties. They had some obligations holding over from wartime associations; and inevitably they soon became involved in new enterprises.

Mr. Hanmer resumed work in the Athletic Research Society and in the National Amateur Athletic Association, where he was active in forming a Woman's Section. As chairman of the committee on Athletic Badge Tests of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, he periodically revised the tests both for boys and for girls. He helped the Association formulate swimming tests based on similar principles. He helped reorganize the field work of the Boy Scouts and arrange for their participation in International Jamborees. He served as chairman of a committee to reorganize the Recreation Committee of New York City.¹

Mr. Perry plunged back into work for the community-center movement, both locally and nationally. He helped plan the community house at Forest Hills Gardens, where he lived. To bring up to date the information about school centers in the United States he made a thorough inventory of them (667, in 107 cities) and prepared the information for publication.² He found the National Community Center Association badly in need of help, and for some months acted virtually as its executive secretary. During this period he developed plans for a bi-monthly organ, which he edited for two years (July, 1920, to August, 1922) and for which he continued to take a good deal of responsibility until in 1925-1926 it was incorporated as a department in Social Forces. He arranged the program on community centers for the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in June, 1920, and summarized the papers for publication.³ In the fall of 1921 he contributed to the New York Evening Post a historical review of the ten-year-old movement, which was reprinted by the Department. In 1922-1923 he participated in a survey of community centers in Chicago.

¹ It was transferred to New York Community Service, and on the discontinuance of New York Community Service, in the fall of 1921, was reorganized on an independent basis as the City Recreation Committee.

² School Center Gazette 1919-1920. 1920.

³ Contributions to Community Center Progress. 1920.

In the early twenties, while he was particularly active in the National Community Center Association, Mr. Perry was largely instrumental in bringing about the establishment of a Committee on Community Relations in the National Education Association, and soon he was made its secretary. The report of this committee at the meeting of the Association in July, 1926, contained a set of resolutions that officially committed the school administrators of the country to sympathetic and active support of community activities centering in the public school buildings.

Mr. Perry took up again also his interrupted activities for the promotion of amateur dramatics. He began systematically gathering material about community theatres. He served on several committees of the New York Drama League. He joined "The Gardens' Players" in Forest Hills. He helped the Drama Council of New York Community Service organize and conduct a training course for leaders of community dramatics.

Both Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry continued their contributions to the cause of better motion pictures. Mr. Perry was still on the General Committee of the National Board of Review and chairman of its National Committee for Better Films, which selected and classified films for different purposes. Mr. Hanmer gave some time for a year or more to problems of the War Department in transferring its motion picture service from the Community Motion Picture Bureau to its own Education-Recreation Branch. They attended discussions on proposals for official censorship, federal and state, but held to the opinion that volunteer criticism and recommendations to producers were more effective in raising standards than government control. They supplied material on problems of motion pictures for a pamphlet published by the Federal Council of Churches.

Soon after Will H. Hays became president of the newly organized Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., in the spring of 1922, he read the Federal Council's pamphlet and conferred with Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry. On June 22 he held a meeting of representatives of some 50 national organizations, which resulted in the creation of a Committee on Public Relations, with Mr. Hanmer as chairman. This committee, con-

sisting of representatives of national organizations interested in improving and extending the use of motion pictures, acted as an intermediary between the industry and the public. It refused to become a censoring body, but brought to the industry the criticisms and suggestions of the public as represented by the local membership of these national organizations, and in turn acquainted the public, through the same channels, with the problems and purposes of the industry.

About three years later, on the recommendation of the Committee, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association established a Department of Public Relations within its own organization, and appointed the secretary of the Committee as director of the new department. Soon thereafter the office was moved to Hollywood, but Mr. Hanmer kept up close relations with it and frequently participated in conferences. Among the Committee's activities during its brief existence, in addition to its influence in diminishing the number of objectionable pictures, it encouraged the organization of local Better Films Committees and developed plans for "children's matinees" on Saturday mornings and for "family nights." A request from the Association to Russell Sage Foundation to assist in a study of employment conditions in the industry led to a visit by Miss van Kleeck to Hollywood and a report by her to Mr. Hays.

An inquiry into the views of high-school students throughout the country was conducted by Mr. Perry for the National Committee for Better Films. Financial assistance was given by one of the producing companies. Mr. Perry prepared the questionnaire and enlisted the interest of school superintendents, who returned about 47,000 replies. They were tabulated by the Foundation's Department of Statistics, and Mr. Perry prepared the report, which was published by the National Committee in 1923.

One of the responsibilities of earlier days was terminated not long after the end of the war. When the Park and Playground Association of Sag Harbor was incorporated in the fall of 1920 and the transfer of property had been made to it, the Foundation officially had no further obligations for that "object lesson," undertaken originally at the request of Mrs. Sage. A friendly

interest was maintained, and help was given through the period of readjustment.

NEW INTERESTS

A new organization, formed after the war, was the American Country Life Association. Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry had a natural interest in its work as related to recreation and community organization in rural districts, and a big-brotherly sense of responsibility because the Foundation gave it financial help. They helped on its conference programs and in other ways, and sympathetically advised in its difficulties with building up membership and financial support.

Still younger was the Sportsmanship Brotherhood, which Mr. Hanmer was influential in organizing about 1925. Its object was to promote high ideals of sportsmanship, as expressed in a code to be adopted by schools, clubs, and other organizations. Although "everybody seemed interested," this, too, was an organization that was hard to finance, even in the prosperous twenties. Mr. Hanmer gave it some executive service, as well as advice, and at times supplied clerical assistance and office facilities.

Fresh interest in the folk schools of Denmark was aroused in the years following the war by reports brought back by American visitors. Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry helped on plans to bring to America Niels Bukh, principal of Ollerup People's College, and a group of his pupils for a tour of demonstrations in September, 1923. They helped also in securing money to meet the financial deficit that was almost inevitable in such a tour and in arranging transportation back home for the group. Twenty-five "splendid" exhibitions were given. They were enthusiastically received, and stimulated interest in physical training and in the general program of adult education of which Mr. Bukh was the exponent.

In the first National Conference on Outdoor Recreation, held in Washington in May, 1924, on call by President Coolidge, Mr. Hanmer acted as chairman of the Committee on the Correlation of Agencies other than federal. His participation entailed more or less responsibility for setting up plans for five studies to be promoted by the Conference, and led to building up the information

in the files of the Department about training courses for recreation leaders and publishing it as a pamphlet.¹

RECREATION IN INSTITUTIONS

Within two years after the Department resumed its normal activities, following the break occasioned by the war, three new studies of major importance were begun. One of the three, started on October 1, 1921, was a study of the value of physical recreation in correctional and custodial institutions. Beginning with children, it was extended to adults in hospitals for the mentally ill, reformatories, and a few institutions of other kinds. To make the study Robert K. Atkinson was added to the staff. Mr. Atkinson had been director of the recreation program in Sag Harbor from 1912 to 1917, after a year or two as field secretary of the Playground Association of America. During the war he was in the War Camp Community Service.

In the first two years Mr. Atkinson visited more than 50 institutions and in each case made a report to the superintendent or the board of managers. At several of them he conducted demonstrations, arranged programs to be carried out by members of the staff, and went back at intervals on a regular schedule to observe results and give further advice. At the request of the State Board of Charities of New York he presented the subject of play for children in institutions at five district conferences, attended by representatives of 125 institutions. The material presented at these conferences, together with the discussions and subsequent correspondence, was then incorporated in a pamphlet.²

Demonstrations were continued in several institutions for two or three years longer, notably at Bedford Reformatory for Women and two of the state hospitals for the mentally ill situated in Greater New York. Single visits were made, on invitation, to many other institutions far and near. Opportunities to teach were welcomed. Mr. Atkinson gave a demonstration at the Summer Institute for Institution Workers at Pittsburgh in 1924.

¹ Directory of Training Courses for Recreation Leaders, compiled by Marguerita P. Williams and Lee F. Hanmer, 1928.

² Play for Children in Institutions, by Robert K. Atkinson, 1923.

In 1924, and again in 1925, he conducted courses at the New York Summer School of Physical Education, held under the auspices of the State Department of Education at the Normal School in Cortland. He lectured on physical efficiency and achievement tests at the summer school of New York University in 1925. In 1925-1926 he gave two courses at the University on the adaptation of recreation and physical education (1) to mental patients and (2) to subnormal children; and an extension course for workers at the Kings Park and Central Islip State Hospitals.

Mr. Atkinson was in demand for other work of the Department also, particularly in its relation with the Playground and Recreation Association of America. He was secretary of the Association's Committee on Athletic Badge Tests, of which Mr. Hanmer was chairman. He spent two months in the summer of 1923 studying summer camps in New England as part of a more extensive survey by the Association. Co-operating with the Association, he worked with Mr. Hanmer in 1925 to prepare physical-progress tests for the War Department to use in its summer training camps for civilians.¹ In his last year with the Foundation Mr. Atkinson contributed to the survey of the All-Year Schools of Newark, New Jersey, made by Wilson Farrand and M. V. O'Shea, a report on playground facilities in those schools.

In September, 1926, after five years devoted primarily to practical experiments in recreation in institutions of various types, courses of instruction for institutional workers, presentation and discussion of methods with institutional officials and at conferences, Mr. Atkinson left the Foundation to take the position of educational secretary with the Boys' Club Federation.

MUSIC IN INSTITUTIONS

Another demonstration in institutional methods was sponsored a few weeks after Mr. Atkinson began work. When New York

¹ These tests were based on data from schools, colleges, and other sources, including thousands of records of high-school boys, which Mr. Atkinson had been collecting since 1921 as data for a study of normal physical progress. Findings from the first 20,000 records were published by the New York Society for Experimental Study of Education and were presented at many meetings and conferences.

Community Service, Inc., was discontinued in the fall of 1921, persons who knew about the work of Willem van de Wall as song leader in institutions were loath to see it stop. What he was doing seemed to indicate great possibilities in music as a therapeutic and rehabilitating agent in treating delinquents and mental cases. On the initiative of O. F. Lewis, general secretary of the Prison Association of New York, who during the war had been director of the Community Singing Department for the Northern Division of War Camp Community Service, a committee was formed to make possible a more thorough demonstration. It was called the Committee for the Study of Music in Institutions. Mr. Lewis was chairman,¹ Mr. Hanmer secretary. The other members represented institutions that were interested.

Russell Sage Foundation made a small grant to underwrite Mr. van de Wall's salary for a year, on the understanding that the Committee would obtain the additional amount needed, and on the condition that the work should be under the supervision of Mr. Hanmer. Technically Mr. van de Wall was not a member of the staff of the Department of Recreation. The financial assistance by the Foundation was a grant to the independent Committee, not an addition to the Department's budget. The Committee had its own budget and its own address. It met at frequent intervals for two or three years, occasionally thereafter, to hear reports from Mr. van de Wall and discuss his program. Practically the work was hardly distinguishable from the Department's other interests. Mr. van de Wall made its offices his headquarters. The staff took care of his clerical work, answered inquiries in his absence, prepared his manuscripts for printing. The Foundation's contributions to the Committee for his salary extended over a period of less than three years, but its contributions in service went on after his salary was assured from other sources.

Mr. van de Wall's demonstrations and studies were carried on at first in several institutions for delinquents and insane within a

¹ On his death not long afterward Charles W. Tremaine, director of the National Bureau for the Advancement of Music, became acting chairman, and later Mason Pitman, M.D., superintendent of the Colored Orphan Asylum, New York City, was made chairman.

practicable distance from New York,¹ with some of which he already had connections. He visited them on a regular weekly schedule, conducting group singing and other musical programs, making a limited number of individual case studies, discussing problems with officials and staff. Superintendents were enthusiastic over the results. Within a short time they could see improvement in spirits and behavior and evidence that the work was contributing to progress toward mental health and in social attitude. In several institutions selected employes were trained to carry on activities between Mr. van de Wall's visits. At four of them within two years instructors were added to the staff to carry forward the beginnings that had been made.

In January, 1923, on invitation from William C. Sandy, director of the Bureau of Mental Health of the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Welfare, who was a member of the Committee, Mr. van de Wall gave a demonstration at the Allentown hospital for the mentally ill for the institutional workers of the state. This led to a full-time position in Dr. Sandy's bureau, the state meeting part of the expense from December, 1923, the entire cost from July 1, 1924.

This position, which Mr. van de Wall filled until September 30, 1932, when the exigencies of the depression cut it out of the state's budget, was the base for a rich development of his ideas. From setting up a music program for hospitals for the mentally ill his territory extended, in response to requests for his services, to all kinds of institutions in the state. In one way or another he was constantly teaching. He trained institutional workers in Pennsylvania. From 1925 on, the Bureau gave him furloughs to conduct courses in the Department of Music Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. One year he gave a course at the New York School of Social Work. He embraced opportunities, some of which were arranged by Mr. Hanmer, to give demonstrations and addresses at national and international prison congresses and other conferences of institutional workers.

¹ Three were institutions where Mr. Atkinson conducted demonstrations in the use of recreation.

After Mr. van de Wall went into the service of the state of Pennsylvania the Department of Recreation kept up its close relations with his work, assisting in various ways to widen his audience. From the beginning of its interest in 1921, the Foundation had in view publication of the results of his studies and experiences in a form that would be of general and lasting utility. Partial reports were issued along the way¹ and in 1925 the Foundation made a definite arrangement with Mr. van de Wall to prepare a handbook on the use of music and dramatics in institutions. Work on the handbook proceeded slowly. With assistance from many persons within the Foundation and outside, it was published after eleven years.² Dr. Samuel W. Hamilton, who contributed the Foreword, described it as the first "systematic presentation of the aims, methods, and cautions to be observed in this field of music in welfare work," by the man who had "contributed more work and study thereto than . . . any other person in this country."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO REGIONAL SURVEY

From 1921, when the Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs was initiated by the Foundation, to the end of the decade, studies for the Survey constituted a major item in the program of the Department of Recreation. In several years they took half the time of the staff. Both Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry were responsible for important sections.

Mr. Hanmer's volume on Public Recreation, issued in 1928, was a "recreation survey" of the New York Region. In assembling material he had the assistance of Charles J. Storey and others, the co-operation of the City Recreation Committee, and the advantage of long-standing cordial relations with the city departments and the private agencies interested in recreation in

¹ Music in Correctional Institutions, reprinted in 1923 by Russell Sage Foundation from the Seventy-eighth Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York; Music as a Means of Mental Discipline, published in Archives of Occupational Therapy, February, 1923, and reprinted by Russell Sage Foundation; and Utilization of Music in Prisons and Mental Hospitals, issued by the National Bureau for the Advancement of Music in 1924.

² Music in Institutions, by Willem van de Wall, 1936.

New York City and to some extent in the outlying areas embraced in the Region. His report represented not so much brand-new studies, though it incorporated a great deal of fresh material, as it did putting together, supplementing, bringing up to date, rounding out, and developing knowledge that had been accumulating since 1907 (much of it held in solution in various minds), precipitating it on paper, and applying it all in a comprehensive survey of conditions in the entire Region and the needs measured by accepted standards.

This was the only book written by Mr. Hanmer during the thirty years that he directed the recreation work of the Foundation, and it cannot appear among the Foundation's publications because it bears the imprint of the Committee on Regional Survey and Plan. He wrote addresses and pamphlets, and he always had time to help other people with their books, but it was hard for him to find time to give the consecutive attention required for the composition of a book. The volume for the Regional Survey was not precisely the book that his associates had hoped in 1911 he would write, but it embodied much of his wisdom and philosophy.

Mr. Perry's distinctive contribution to the Survey, his monograph on The Neighborhood Unit, was a natural development from his interest in facilities for outdoor recreation and for other kinds of social intercourse, but it carried him also into fields outside the previous bounds of the Department of Recreation. Thereafter he spent a considerable part of his time on housing and city planning.

INFLUENCE ON DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES

These studies for the Regional Survey involved the Department of Recreation in responsibilities that could not be dropped when the reports were turned in. Relations with officials and agencies in the Region could not be of a one-way nature. Their co-operation in supplying information led to requests for help on their own problems, which the Department, from its accumulated experience and its fresh study of recreation in Greater New York and its environs, was peculiarly equipped to give and could

not refuse. After the reports were published requests from other parts of the country increased in number.

When Mr. Storey finished his field work for the recreation survey he was kept on the staff of the Department to help in meeting these requests. Among numerous other activities, he served as acting secretary of the City Recreation Committee in the summer of 1927; prepared a Guide to Public Recreation in New York City for publication by the Committee; and made a recreation survey of Philadelphia in 1928-1929 for the Playgrounds Association of that city, as one of the studies of the Philadelphia Regional Plan. For the Welfare Council of New York he made a survey of athletics for boys in neighborhood houses. When the City Recreation Committee in 1930 became the Recreation Committee of the Welfare Council, he went with it to the Council as its secretary.

From 1926 to 1930 the Department had an important part, through its relations with the City Recreation Committee, with subcommittees of the Mayor's Committee on Plan and Survey, and with a special committee on parks and playgrounds of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, in bringing about a great expansion of recreation facilities in Greater New York, culminating in the adoption by the city in 1930 of a program for the purchase of 3,550 acres of additional park lands and the establishment of about a hundred new playgrounds, at an estimated cost of \$30,000,000. In the same year increases were obtained in the budgets of the School Board and the Park Departments for playgrounds and recreation centers, and progress was made toward raising the qualifications and the salaries of city employes in recreation work. When the beauty of the Palisades was menaced by plans for the Hudson River Bridge, Mr. Hanmer helped organize a committee representative of New York and New Jersey to "Save the Palisades" from commercial exploitation.

An opportunity to promote regional spirit in another part of the country was offered by a request from the administrators of the Oglebay Estate in Wheeling, West Virginia, for help in working out plans for the use of the 800-acre tract bequeathed

by Colonel E. W. Oglebay for an educational-recreational center. After months of study and consultation, plans were submitted for developing a program of recreational, educational, and cultural activities for the region centered in Wheeling, including adjacent parts of Ohio and Pennsylvania. In 1930 the plans were adopted, with the co-operation of the University of West Virginia, a citizens' committee, and liberal contributions to an endowment by Colonel Oglebay's heirs.

Mr. Perry's development of the "neighborhood-unit idea," which originated from his work in recreation, carried him farther into the general field of community organization. Without dropping his earlier and continuing interests, especially his studies in amateur dramatics, he became increasingly involved in the counsels of housing and city-planning organizations.

END OF THE PERIOD

Even while the work for the Regional Survey was most pressing, a substantial amount of time was given to organizations with which the Department had long-standing relations and to temporary or new opportunities that presented themselves. Help was given on plans for training leaders for Little Theatre groups, to the Drama Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, to university-extension directors of dramatic activities, to men writing books or articles. Mr. Hanmer was one of three judges in the nationwide contest on Playground Beautification, sponsored by the Harmon Foundation in 1927. Mr. Perry, at the request of the United States Bureau of Education, edited for publication a long manuscript on school centers.¹ He gathered data on current use of public school buildings in New York City for community activities in 1926-1927, for publication by the Board of Education.² Both men kept in touch, through their respective affiliations, with developments in the realm of motion pictures, but

¹ Extended Use of School Buildings, by Eleanor T. Glueck. United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 5, 1927.

² Later, as this plan for publication was abandoned, the material was brought up to date and published as a department pamphlet: New York School Centers and Their Community Policy, by Clarence Arthur Perry and Marguerita P. Williams, 1931.

less time was required after the Public Relations Committee came to an end. In April, 1926, Mr. Hanmer submitted a statement on its work to the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives, at a hearing on bills to create a federal motion picture commission. In 1928 he assisted in organizing the Amateur Cinema League.

After the Regional Survey reports were published there was more freedom for new undertakings, some of which have been mentioned in earlier pages. At the request of the Playground and Recreation Association the Department agreed to serve as the national center of advice and information on research and survey projects in the field of recreation. It participated in the national study of standards and salaries for recreation workers made by the Association in 1929-1930. Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry regularly helped in the Association's Training School for Recreation Workers.

Mr. Perry had more time now for his study of the "little theatre." He began preparation of a pamphlet on experiences of community groups in promoting amateur dramatics, with a bibliography of suitable plays, suggestions as to where to get costumes and scenery, and other useful information.

So many requests came to the Department for suggestions about suitable forms of recreation for crippled children in institutions that in 1929 a study of the subject was begun by Mr. Storey. Some institutions had devised excellent programs; others had done practically nothing. It was planned to collect and publish illustrations of the best work.

In the preparations going forward in 1929 for the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection to be held in Washington in November, 1930, Mr. Hanmer, Mr. Perry, and Mr. Storey all had assignments on committees and responsibility for preparing reports. Mr. Storey, on the basis of the study he had been making, wrote the section on "Recreation for Crippled Children" in the report of the Committee on Physically Handicapped Children. Mr. Perry wrote the section on "Community Dramatics" for the subcommittee on Motion Pictures and Theatres, and was chairman of the subcommittee on Community

Environment of the Committee on Youth Outside of Home and School. Mr. Hanmer was chairman of two subcommittees and assisted in writing the section on "Playgrounds and Selection and Training of Volunteer Leaders."

The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, held the following year, also involved both Mr. Hanmer and Mr. Perry in committee meetings and preparation of reports. The neighborhood-unit idea was prominently advocated at the Conference.

Before the end of 1931 the economic depression was bringing financial difficulties and increased responsibilities to many agencies in the field of recreation. The years of plenty were over. Needs arising out of the emergency began to determine to a large extent the Department's activities.

XXV

REMEDIAL LOANS: 1918-1931

FOR SEVERAL years after the war the Division¹ of Remedial Loans was relatively inactive. No director was appointed immediately to take the place of Arthur H. Ham. Miss Caro D. Coombs, secretary of the Division, returned to the staff in January, 1919, at first only for part time but for full time after June. Walter S. Hilborn and his partner, David J. Gallert, were retained to represent the Foundation in connection with small loan legislation as occasion should arise. Mr. Hilborn was appointed acting director in 1920, but he still gave only part of his time to the work of the Division.

It was hoped that by degrees the main responsibility for protecting and promoting the interests of small borrowers and guarding against the return of the loan shark would be assumed by other agencies, such as the recently organized association of licensed lenders. After a few years it became apparent that this hope was premature. It seemed clear that a more aggressive program must be carried on by the Foundation for a time if the expectations based on accomplishments of the earlier years were to be realized. Mr. Glenn and Mr. Ham began looking for a man qualified to head the Department and free to give it his full time. In the summer of 1925 Leon Henderson was appointed to the position, with the title of associate director. The year 1925-1926 began a period of new energy and productivity.

MAIN EVENTS: 1918-1924

Even though between 1917 and 1925 the Division did not try to promote and strengthen the regulation of the small loan business systematically, it was involved in a considerable amount of legislative activity. Mr. Hilborn appeared before legislative com-

¹ After 1924 the Division was known as "Department." Its designation was not changed when that of the other divisions was changed in January, 1920.

mittees in a dozen or more states during this period in support of small loan bills that were satisfactory to the Division. There was also continuing work on the model law. Revised drafts of the Uniform Small Loan Law were made in 1918, 1919, and 1923, in conference with the American Industrial Licensed Lenders Association,¹ which on each occasion renewed its agreement to support only the approved draft. None of the changes made in these revisions affected the basic principles. In the draft of 1923 a new section was added (Section 16), which expressly brought "purchases" of wages for \$300 or less within the regulations of the act. This addition was occasioned by the rapid growth of the business known as "salary-buying," which proved in some states to be the one successful scheme devised by high-rate lenders for evading the restrictions imposed by regulatory laws on "salary-lending."

Mr. Hilborn and Mr. Gallert examined bills introduced in the various states, corresponded with legislators and other public officials, lent aid as they could in support of approved bills and in opposition to measures that violated the tested principles embodied in the Uniform Law. Colonel Clarence Hodson, a prominent member of the lenders' association, who had participated in framing the Uniform Law in 1916, began, in disregard of the Association's agreement, to promote a so-called "Ideal Law" under the sponsorship of the Legal Reform Bureau, which was his own creation. His draft was opposed by the Foundation wherever it was introduced. Within a few years he dropped it and returned to his support of the Uniform Law.

The bulk of the legislative work in these years was done by correspondence, but Mr. Hilborn or Mr. Gallert appeared at hearings in several states and in a few cases one or the other spent two or three weeks in a state capital carrying on an intensive campaign. Between 1917 and 1925 laws embodying the essential features of the Uniform Law were enacted in six states, bringing to 18 the number of states with fairly satisfactory legislation. During these years also some of the earlier laws were improved,

¹ Previously American Association of Small Loan Brokers. The name was changed in September, 1918.

some attempts at emasculation were thwarted, and some unsuccessful efforts to pass the Uniform Law laid the foundation for success at a later time. In one way or another the Division had a share in all these developments.

An address by Mr. Ham on Small Loan Legislation: Progress and Improvement and one by Mr. Hilborn on Philosophy of the Uniform Small Loan Law¹ were published by the Foundation as additions to the scanty supply of material for educational purposes.

There were 54 credit unions in New York State in 1919, when Miss Coombs returned to the staff. She renewed relations with them, assisted in organizing new ones in New York City and nearby, collected information about the various plans in operation in industrial concerns in the city, whether on a co-operative basis or not, for promoting thrift and providing facilities for small loans, and acted as secretary of the New York State Association of Credit Unions, which Mr. Ham had been instrumental in forming in 1917, but which had made little progress during the war. Miss Coombs built up its membership, effected a reorganization, and stimulated it to take more active interest in legislation and to cultivate co-operative relations with the State Banking Department. Legislation inimical to credit unions was introduced by the Banking Department in 1923, but through the intervention of the Division a compromise measure, less restrictive in its effects, was formulated and passed.

Credit unions in the state on the whole were at a low level. The depression of 1920-1921 brought financial difficulties to many of them. Lax supervision by the Banking Department encouraged the growth of illegal practices. Charters were not revoked for violation of the law. Many were charging interest rates of 24-30 per cent; some paid dividends as high as 24 per cent; and some made loans for as much as \$10,000. There were many groups operating without charters. Many applications made by groups with sincere intentions were denied,² while

¹ Delivered at successive annual conventions of the American Industrial Lenders Association on September 23, 1921, and September 20, 1922, respectively.

² As many as 500 in a single year, it was estimated.

REMEDIAL LOANS: 1918-1931

charters were granted—it was discovered later—to political favorites.

When the Credit Union National Extension Bureau was formed by E. A. Filene in Boston in 1922, the Foundation undertook to continue to be responsible for promotional work in the state of New York. A new edition of *The Credit Union Primer*, published in 1914, was issued in 1923 by the Foundation, with slight revisions.

Miss Coombs resigned in December, 1924, to be married, and work was virtually suspended until Mr. Henderson took charge in August, 1925.

STUDY OF THE SMALL LOAN BUSINESS

In November, 1922, the Trustees of Russell Sage Foundation made a special appropriation to cover expenses of a comprehensive survey of the small loan business, to be made under the direction of Louis N. Robinson, formerly professor of economics at Swarthmore. Mr. Robinson had begun the study some months earlier, under the auspices of a group of members of the American Industrial Lenders Association. His plan included a history and description of the business in the United States, its legal setting, facts about borrowers, and an account of moneylending in Great Britain from earliest days.

A pamphlet on the regulation of pawnbroking in the United States,¹ including the text of a proposed uniform bill,² was the first publication that resulted. It was prepared by R. Cornelius Raby, head of the legal department of the Provident Loan Society, whose services were contributed by the Society, and was issued in advance of other sections of the study because of the demand for an authoritative, up-to-date reference manual on the subject.

RENEWAL OF ACTIVE PROGRAM

At the time of his appointment to the staff of Russell Sage Foundation Leon Henderson was director of accounts of the state of Pennsylvania and deputy secretary of the Commonwealth

¹ *The Regulation of Pawnbroking*, by R. Cornelius Raby, 1924.

² Printed previously by the Foundation as a leaflet.

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under Governor Pinchot. Although only thirty, not much older than Mr. Ham had been in 1909, he had already had a varied experience, including a year in a glass-factory in his early youth, the miscellaneous occupations of a boy earning his way through Swarthmore College, service as an officer in the Ordnance Department of the Army during the war, and more recently university teaching, research, and administration. He began his work in the Foundation by studying the material in the office, acquainting himself with the current situation in the Department's area of interest, renewing connections established during the eight years before 1917 that had been broken or weakened in the eight years since, and establishing new relations that would be useful.

Within nine months after he began work in August, 1925, his title was changed from associate director to director and appointment of an assistant was authorized. To fill this position Rolf Nugent was added to the staff in September, 1926. Mr. Nugent, a graduate of Amherst College, had been associated with Mr. Henderson in the Pennsylvania state offices. Mr. Hilborn continued to serve as counsel to the Department, and Mr. Ham remained an unofficial adviser throughout its entire existence.

Promotion of the Uniform Small Loan Law and improvement of credit unions and their status in the state of New York were primary objects carried over from the earlier program. Co-operative relations were maintained with the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations,¹ which had been the Department's point of departure in 1909, but limited-dividend associations were a factor of diminishing importance in the small loan field. No new association had been organized since 1918. The membership of the Federation declined from 35 in 1917 to 26 in 1931. As a result of an increase in the volume of pawn-broking during the twenties in many cities where supervision was inefficient, several states became interested in 1929-1931 in the

¹ Some of them participated vigorously in campaigns for the Uniform Law. In 1931 Mr. Nugent made a historical study of the Provident Loan Society of New York, the largest of the remedial loan associations, which had become the largest agency in the world lending money on pledges of personal property. It was published by the Foundation in 1932 as a 24-page pamphlet.

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Uniform Pawnbroking Bill published in 1924. An urgent responsibility awaiting Mr. Henderson in the fall of 1925 was presented by the revival of the loan shark under the guise of "purchaser" of wages or salaries.

SALARY-BUYING

This subterfuge for evading the regulations imposed by an increasing number of states on moneylending had been devised by two payroll clerks in a railroad office in Atlanta about 1915. The borrower signed a statement that he had sold a certain amount of his wages to the salary-buyer and gave him power of attorney to collect that amount from the employer when the wages were due. As he did not want his employer to know about the transaction, he promised to collect the salary himself and turn over the amount he had "sold." Usually, however, instead of repaying the loan he renewed it, and sooner or later increased the amount or made "sales" to other "buyers." Charges, in the form of discounts, did not seem high in dollars but they amounted to interest at rates from 240 per cent to 600 per cent a year.

The business grew slowly at first, largely controlled by the two originators and two other men, who were known as the "Big Four." Its enormous profits, however, soon attracted competitors. By 1925 it was flourishing in two-thirds of the states. Railroad employes were the principal victims, partly because it was the practice of most railroads to pay wages two weeks after the end of the period in which they were earned. The Department of Remedial Loans estimated in 1926 that a third of all the railroad employes in the country were borrowing from salary-buyers, and on an average from two each.

Organization of a crusade against salary-buying was a major part of Mr. Henderson's program in his first two years. Elements of the campaign were the same as had been used in the original war on loan sharks: general publicity, exposure of individuals, lawsuits, enlistment of co-operation of employers, and new legislation. It was an advantage that the practice was largely concentrated among railroad employes. It was a greater advantage that the work of the preceding years since 1909 had prepared a

receptive attitude in various quarters for the Department's disclosures and suggestions and had resulted in an organized body of reputable lenders who appreciated the threat to their legitimate business.

The American Industrial Lenders Association engaged the law firm of Hubachek and Hubachek to aid in prosecutions and otherwise in states that had regulatory laws. Mr. Henderson enlisted the co-operation of railroads, the railway brotherhoods, legal aid societies, better business bureaus, chambers of commerce, junior chambers of commerce, state supervisors responsible for the enforcement of small loan laws, and representative newspapers. In some states where no decision by a court as to buying salaries had been made, Mr. Henderson arranged for prosecutions of salary-buyers which resulted in decisions that buying salaries was lending; in others he obtained amendments to the laws which definitely brought salary-buying under the regulations as to small loans.¹ In the campaign, information assembled for the legal section of Mr. Robinson's survey of the small loan business was useful in many ways. Prosecuting attorneys were kept supplied with copies of pertinent court decisions and descriptive material.

By the end of 1927 salary-buying was definitely losing the fight. It had been declared illegal in the courts of many states and was generally recognized as lending and subject to the laws regulating small loans. The "Big Four" had gone into the licensed chattel loan business and were withdrawing from salary-purchasing.

After it was judicially established that this kind of "buying" was "lending," control became a matter of enforcement of the small loan law in states that had such a law and extension of the Uniform Law to states that had not yet enacted it.

PROGRESS OF THE UNIFORM LAW

In his first year at the Foundation Mr. Henderson visited most of the states where the Uniform Small Loan Law or its equivalent

¹ The constitutionality of Section 16 of the Uniform Act (see p. 337) was sustained in the courts of Maryland in 1928. It was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1931.

was in operation.¹ He organized support for the Uniform Law in Missouri and Wisconsin, preparatory to legislative campaigns the following year, and spent most of his time in those states while their legislatures were in session in 1927. In both states the law was enacted. He also appeared at legislative hearings in a number of states in opposition to proposed amendments. Eleven states this winter had under consideration bills reducing the maximum rates of interest allowed, a change that was not favored by proponents of the Uniform Law. None of the bills was enacted this year.

After its active participation in the 1927 campaigns in Wisconsin and Missouri the Department adopted the policy of limiting its legislative work to the drafting of bills, correspondence, supplying material, and appearance at hearings. In 1928 assistance along these lines was given in Kentucky and Louisiana. In Kentucky the bill was defeated by the strong organized opposition of the loan sharks. In Louisiana it was passed, notwithstanding the most bitter and best-financed lobby that the Uniform Law had yet encountered in any state. The bill was advocated by the newspapers of both political factions, which were supplied with material by the Department, but it owed its passage to Governor Huey P. Long, who gave it the support of his entire official family and sent a special message (written by Mr. Henderson) to the legislature asking for favorable action. The law was declared unconstitutional by a lower court in November, 1928, because of certain provisions that had been added over Mr. Henderson's objections. Governor Long, who was calling the legislature into extraordinary session in December, included in his call a demand for a law omitting the unconstitutional features. The corrected bill was passed in December and was upheld by the Supreme Court of the state in May, 1929.

After Louisiana the next state to enact the Uniform Law was California in 1931, but the following year this statute was declared unconstitutional on account of a single section. Bills embodying the Uniform Law were introduced in ten additional

¹ There were now 21. Three states had enacted laws in 1925 that embodied all or a substantial part of the features of the Uniform Law.

states between 1929 and 1931, but none became law. Several existing statutes were strengthened by the addition of Section 16 or other amendments. On the other hand, rate-reduction bills were before the legislatures of 15 or more states and were passed by four. Interim legislative commissions were appointed in Minnesota and Texas in 1929 to study the small loan problem and recommend action.

In New York in 1929, departing from its general policy of limited activity in legislation, the Department began an aggressive campaign to bring the personal loan law into conformity with the principles of the Uniform Law. The bill was drafted by the Department at the request of the Baumes Crime Commission. It was passed by the Senate but did not reach a vote in the Assembly. The same thing happened in 1931, but in 1932 the bill was enacted.

On virtually every legislative proposal in the country the Department of Remedial Loans was consulted. In order to be prepared to advise, it kept in touch with officials and other interested persons throughout the country; followed every measure throughout its course, in many cases drafting the original form or suggesting revisions; studied court decisions and kept a complete file of them; and collected reports, articles, and any other material that had a bearing on the subject. Its office was a national center of information.

Responsibility for "policing" the small loan law—bringing to light violations of statutes in force and facilitating prosecutions—was assumed in 1928 by the American Industrial Lenders Association through a Vigilance Committee, for which it provided funds and engaged as counsel Charles N. Napier, one of the best-equipped lawyers in the country for the work.

In New York there was considerable activity at this time by salary-buyers and other loan sharks. Through a suggestion to counsel for the New York Central Railroad in the fall of 1927, the Department was instrumental in bringing the situation to the notice of the Attorney General of the state, Albert Ottinger. Mr. Ottinger appointed Albert Raphael, a partner of Mr. Hilborn, as his deputy to conduct a campaign against the loan sharks, and

later held a series of conferences to discuss proposals for remedies. The Department gave much help both to Mr. Raphael and to the groups called in conference by the Attorney General, which presented a combined report.

At the instance of Mr. Raphael, Chief Magistrate McAdoo held public hearings in New York City, which not only brought to light the cases for prosecution but also provided enlightenment on the loan-shark evil for citizens who might have forgotten the lessons presented to them fifteen or twenty years before or might not have been in New York at that time, or might not have been old enough to appreciate them. Mr. Raphael's prosecutions resulted in a number of convictions and some prison sentences, although the lenders were defended by brilliant and outstanding criminal lawyers.

Pressure for reduction of the maximum charge allowed on small loans increased in the late twenties. It came from a variety of sources: legislators who saw in it an opportunity to make political capital; high-rate lenders in retaliation for campaigns against them in other states; but also, as in the days when the Uniform Law was taking shape, from the compassionate or uninformed who could not see why a higher rate should be allowed on small loans than was charged by banks, and from more thoughtful persons who questioned whether the maximum of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per month found necessary in the early days of regulation could not safely be lowered now that the legitimate business was well established.

Sponsors of the Uniform Law had counted on competition among licensed lenders to reduce rates of interest whenever feasible, but this expectation had been disappointed. The first venture was made by the Household Finance Corporation late in 1928, when, following the financing of a large issue of preferred stock,¹ it reduced its rate from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a month. At the same time, however, it ceased to make loans of less than \$100 because it believed they would not pay for themselves

¹ The first issue of securities of a small loan company sold to the public through an established underwriter. Mr. Henderson assisted in negotiations. For the next three years, until the depression dried up the market for capital issues, the issue of securities was an important method of financing chain loan companies.

at the lower rate. This reduction in interest had little effect. It was met by only a few lenders in the immediate vicinity of the Household Finance Corporation's offices.

There was little satisfactory basis for determining whether the maximum rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a month could safely be reduced. The Department watched the effects of the reductions made in four states in 1929. In one, where the reduction was slight, little or no change could be seen. In the other three, which reduced the maximum to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, 2 per cent, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent respectively, unfavorable results followed, in direct proportion to the amount of reduction. Licensed lenders moved out of the state or went into other kinds of moneylending. Those who continued to operate limited their minimum loan to \$100 and took only first-grade risks. Loan sharks promptly moved in or sprang up to do the business the reputable lenders dropped. To provide for reliable data on expenses and profits, a standard report form was worked out by the Department, in collaboration with representatives of the American Industrial Lenders Association and several state banking departments. A few states made reports on the standard form in 1929.

The depression increased agitation for reduction in rates of interest. Most of the 215 bills affecting small loans that were introduced in state legislatures in 1931 had this for their object. Following the Department's recommendation, legislative commissions were appointed in many of the states to study the question of rates.

There were indications that the legitimate lenders were coming to appreciate the advantage of giving the public full information about their business. The two largest chain companies employed public relations men in 1929. In the same year the American Industrial Lenders Association was reorganized under a full-time staff with headquarters in Washington. W. Frank Persons was appointed executive vice-president and in that position represented the Association in public matters for three years. A short time after the reorganization the Association changed its name to the American Association of Personal Finance Companies.

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A joint committee of the American Industrial Lenders Association and the Department of Remedial Loans was appointed in 1928 to consider revision of the draft of the Uniform Law in current use, which had been made in 1923. After thorough reconsideration of all provisions in the light of experience and changing conditions, the Fifth Draft was agreed upon in 1931 and released as of January 1, 1932. It increased the discretionary power of the licensing authority and added specific duties; prescribed qualifications for licensees, including possession of liquid assets of at least \$25,000, which must be constantly maintained; extended the grounds for revoking a license; and required adequate annual reports. No change was made in the maximum rate of interest. As in the previous drafts, all charges other than interest were prohibited.

CREDIT UNIONS

While Mr. Nugent from the time he joined the staff acted as general assistant to Mr. Henderson, his special responsibility was to promote the organization of credit unions in the state and improve their operation. When he came to the Department in the fall of 1926 the attitude of the State Banking Department was still unfavorable to the extension of credit union activity. Mr. Nugent devoted himself at first to acquiring a thorough knowledge of co-operative credit, getting acquainted with the situation in New York and with the existing unions, establishing relations with individuals and agencies abroad, including the Co-operative Section of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, and strengthening the New York State Credit Union League,¹ of which he was elected secretary. In his first year he gave personal assistance in the organization of six new credit unions in New York City.

To strengthen the League, he sought to increase its membership, revised its constitution, improved and standardized forms, instituted a monthly bulletin, arranged meetings to discuss policies and procedures and other matters of common interest, and

¹ Formerly New York State Association of Credit Unions.

devised a group-insurance plan for protection against losses through the death of borrowers.

By 1929 the membership of the League had increased from 24 in 1926 to 58, out of a total of 114 credit unions in the state. Several amendments to the Credit Union Law drafted by Mr. Nugent were enacted. Changes in the personnel of the State Banking Department made possible more satisfactory working relations with it. Help was given in organizing proposed credit unions provided conditions were favorable, but less emphasis was placed on increasing the number than on perfecting this mechanism for encouraging thrift and extending credit to the point where it could compete with commercial loan agencies.

In 1930 responsibility for promotional work in the state was taken over by the Credit Union National Extension Bureau. The New York League opened an office of its own, with financial help from the Twentieth Century Fund. Mr. Nugent continued to serve as its secretary. Its spring meeting, a week-end convention, organized and led by the Department, brought together 300 delegates from 50 unions. The Credit Union Primer was revised and expanded to 149 pages by Mr. Nugent and reissued in 1930.

In spite of the shift of responsibility for organizing new credit unions in the state and for most of the routine work of the League, the Department continued to devote a considerable part of its time to the interests of the New York credit union associations. The depression brought financial difficulties to many of them. Mr. Nugent assisted the Banking Department with the liquidation of a number that had become insolvent. Bills to remedy weaknesses brought to light by the depression were drafted by the Department and enacted with the support of the League and the Superintendent of Banks. A plan for insuring credit union accounts against the death of borrowers was completed, and a credit exchange was promoted, to protect open-membership credit unions against fraudulent borrowers. As the result of a brief drawn by the Department, credit unions were held to be exempt from federal income taxes.

By 1932 the liquidation of defunct associations in New York was virtually completed. The Department's period of active

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propaganda for credit unions was over, but it continued to advocate the movement and to collect national statistics of operations annually.

SMALL LOAN SERIES

Work had been going on since 1922 on the comprehensive survey of the small loan business under the direction of Louis N. Robinson, but nothing had been published since Mr. Raby's pamphlet on *The Regulation of Pawnbroking* in 1924.

In 1930 the second publication in the series was issued.¹ This was a statistical study of records from 109 cities in 17 states of 10,000 loans made by licensed lenders in 1922 and 1923. It provided more descriptive information than had previously been available as to the social and economic status of persons who needed loans of small amounts, their living conditions, the amounts they borrowed,² the security offered, the reasons why they had to borrow, and the purposes for which they sought loans.

The other volumes in the series as originally planned were well advanced as this period drew to a close.

BROADENING SCOPE OF INTEREST

Pawnbrokers, limited-dividend associations, licensed lenders, and co-operative credit unions were not the only legitimate agencies that had come into existence to supply the need for small loans. Since 1910 "industrial banks"—Morris Plan companies and their imitators—had multiplied in number and grown in popularity³ and had become formidable opponents of the Uniform Small Loan Law. In 1924 the first "personal loan department" was opened by a commercial bank for lending to salaried persons on endorsed notes. The example was followed immediately by other banks, and by many more after 1928, when the National City Bank of New York offered similar facilities.

¹ *Ten Thousand Small Loans*, by Louis N. Robinson and Maude E. Stearns, 1930.

² Nearly half were less than \$100.

³ Largely because their system of charges concealed the true rate of interest paid by borrowers.

The Department assisted banks in entering the small loan business, providing materials, explaining the bookkeeping forms used by credit unions, and advising on various questions.

The Department of Remedial Loans followed the progress of both these developments, systematically collected information about them, and studied their workings and implications. It began also to study installment selling in relation to the demand for small loans and to use bankruptcy records as a source of data. Gradually it came to see that these various institutions, which had developed independently, were interrelated elements in a system for supplying credit to persons of small means. As such persons ordinarily needed credit for living expenses rather than for business purposes, the term "consumer credit" was adopted to cover the whole field.

Through the late twenties the interests of the Department were expanding in harmony with this new philosophy, which its studies had been largely responsible for developing, and which it was one of the first to enunciate. Two undertakings of 1929 illustrate its broadening scope. Substantial assistance was given to Evans Clark, director of the Twentieth Century Fund, in the preparation of his book, *Financing the Consumer*, which was a survey of the entire consumer credit field. Much of his material came from the Department's files and his general plan for the book evolved in discussions with Mr. Henderson and Mr. Nugent. The other illustration was a study by Mr. Nugent of loan sharks in Kentucky, which led him into a survey of all the available credit facilities in the community, analysis of bankruptcy records, examination of case records of family welfare agencies, and a study of the collection laws of the state and of practices in the Justice of the Peace Courts. Partly as a result of his study a reform was introduced in the practices of these courts.

Although the name of the Department was not changed until 1938, "consumer credit studies" described its scope from 1929.